always so. Not very long ago, they were trodden by multitudinous herds of buffalo and antelope; then, along the wooded river valleys and on the pine-clad slopes of the mountains, elk, deer, and wild sheep fed in great numbers. They are all gone now. The winter's wind still whistles over Montana prairies, but nature's shaggy-headed wild cattle no longer feel its biting blasts. Where once the scorching breath of summer stirred only the short stems of the buffalo-grass, it now billows the fields of the white man's grain. Half-hidden by the scanty herbage, a few bleached skeletons alone remain to tell us of the buffalo; and the broad, deep trails, over which the dark herds passed by thousands, are now grass-grown and fast disappearing under the effacing hand of time. The buffalo have disappeared, and the fate of the buffalo has almost overtaken the Blackfeet. 136

As known to the whites, the Blackfeet were true prairie Indians, seldom venturing into the mountains, except when they crossed them to war with the Kutenais, the Flatheads, or the Snakes. They subsisted almost wholly on the flesh of the buffalo. They were hardy, untiring, brave, ferocious. Swift to move, whether on foot or horseback, they made long journeys to war, and with telling force struck their enemies. They had conquered and driven out from the territory which they occupied the tribes who once inhabited it, and maintained a desultory and successful warfare against all invaders, fighting with the Crees on the north, the Assinaboines on the east, the Crows on the south, and the Snakes, Kalispels, and Kutenais on the southwest and west. In those days the Blackfeet were rich and powerful. The buffalo fed and clothed them, and they needed nothing beyond what nature supplied. This was their time of success and happiness. 648 105

Crowded into a little corner of the great territory which they once dominated, and holding this corner by an uncer- 178 105

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tain tenure, a few Blackfeet still exist, the pitiful remnant of a once mighty people. Huddled together about their agencies, they are facing the problem before them, striving, helplessly but bravely, to accommodate themselves to the new order of things; trying in the face of adverse surroundings to wrench themselves loose from their accustomed ways of life; to give up inherited habits and form new ones; to break away from all that is natural to them, from all that they have been taught — to reverse their whole mode of existence. They are striving to earn their living, as the white man earns his, by toil. The struggle is hard and slow, and in carrying it on they are wasting away and growing fewer in numbers. But though unused to labor, ignorant of agriculture, unacquainted with tools or seeds or soils, knowing nothing of the ways of life in permanent houses or of the laws of health, scantily fed, often utterly discouraged by failure, they are still making a noble fight for existence.

Only within a few years — since the buffalo disappeared — has this change been going on; so recently has it come that the old order and the new meet face to face. In the trees along the river valleys, still quietly resting on their aërial sepulchres, sleep the forms of the ancient hunter-warrior who conquered and held this broad land; while, not far away, Blackfoot farmers now rudely cultivate their little crops, and gather scanty harvests from narrow fields.

It is the meeting of the past and the present, of savagery and civilization. The issue cannot be doubtful. Old methods must pass away. The Blackfeet will become civilized, but at a terrible cost. To me there is an interest, profound and pathetic, in watching the progress of the struggle.

open. To prop up against the door a companion who had 439
been killed or frozen to death during the night seems to have 273
been regarded by the Indians as rather a delicate bit of 177
humor, in the nature of a joke on the trader. Long histories
of the doings of these whiskey trading days have been related [522]
to me, but the details are too repulsive to be set down.
The traffic was very fatal to the Indians. 733

The United States has laws which prohibit, under severe
penalties, the sale of intoxicants to Indians, but these laws 657
are seldom enforced. To the north of the boundary line, 273
however, in the Northwest Territories, the Canadian Mounted 439
Police have of late years made whiskey-trading perilous
business. Of Major Steell's good work in putting down the
whiskey traffic on the Blackfoot agency in Montana, I shall
speak further on, and to-day there is not very much whiskey
sold to the Blackfeet. Constant vigilance is needed, how-
ever, to keep traders from the borders of the reservation.

In the winter of 1883–84 more than a quarter of the Piegan 731
tribe of the Blackfeet, which then numbered about twenty- 657
five or twenty-six hundred, died from starvation. It had
been reported to the Indian Bureau that the Blackfeet were [165]
practically self-supporting and needed few supplies. As a [162]
consequence of this report, appropriations for them were
small. The statement was entirely and fatally misleading.
The Blackfeet had then never done anything toward self-
support, except to kill buffalo. But just before this, in
the year 1883, the buffalo had been exterminated from the
Blackfoot country. In a moment, and without warning, the
people had been deprived of the food supply on which they
had depended. At once they had turned their attention to [224]
the smaller game, and, hunting faithfully the river bottoms,
the brush along the small streams, and the sides of the moun- [261]
tains, had killed off all the deer, elk, and antelope; and at
the beginning of the winter found themselves without their
usual stores of dried meat, and with nothing to depend on,

731 except the scanty supplies in the government storehouse.
657 These were ridiculously inadequate to the wants of twenty-five hundred people, and food could be issued to them only
[224] in driblets quite insufficient to sustain life. The men devoted
[261] themselves with the utmost faithfulness to hunting, killing birds, rabbits, prairie-dogs, rats, anything that had life; but do the best they might, the people began to starve. The very old and the very young were the first to perish; after that, those who were weak and sickly, and at last some even among the strong and hardy. News of this suffering was sent East, and Congress ordered appropriations to relieve the distress; but the supplies had to be freighted in wagons for one hundred and fifty or two hundred miles before they were available. If the Blackfeet had been obliged to depend on the supplies authorized by the Indian Bureau, the whole tribe might have perished, for the red tape methods of the Government are not adapted to prompt and efficient action in times of emergency. Happily, help was nearer at hand. The noble people of Montana, and the army officers stationed at Fort Shaw, did all they could to get supplies to the sufferers. One or two Montana contractors sent on flour and bacon, on the personal assurance of the newly appointed agent that he would try to have them paid. But it took a long time to get even these supplies to the agency, over roads sometimes hub deep in mud, or again rough with great masses of frozen clay; and all the time the people were dying.

[115] During the winter, Major Allen had been appointed agent for the Blackfeet, and he reached the agency in the midst of the worst suffering, and before any effort had been made to relieve it. He has told me a heart-rending story of the frightful suffering which he found among these helpless people.

In his efforts to learn exactly what was their condition, Major Allen one day went into twenty-three houses and

lodges to see for himself just what the Indians had to eat. 731
In only two of these homes did he find anything in the shape 651
of food. In one house a rabbit was boiling in a pot. The
man had killed it that morning, and it was being cooked for [261]
a starving child. In another lodge, the hoof of a steer was cooking, — only the hoof, — to make soup for the family. Twenty-three lodges Major Allen visited that day, and the little rabbit and the steer's hoof were all the food he found. "And then," he told me, with tears in his eyes, "I broke down. I could go no further. To see so much misery, and feel myself utterly powerless to relieve it, was more than I could stand."

Major Allen had calculated with exactest care the sup- 731
plies on hand, and at this time was issuing one-seventh 261
rations. The Indians crowded around the agency buildings 651
and begged for food. Mothers came to the windows and held up their starving babies that the sight of their dull, pallid faces, their shrunken limbs, and their little bones sticking through their skins might move some heart to pity. Women brought their young daughters to the white men in the neighborhood, and said, "Here, you may have her, if you will feed her; I want nothing for myself; only let her have enough to eat, that she may not die." One day, a deputation of the chiefs came to Major Allen, and asked him to give them what he had in his storehouses. He explained to them that it must be some time before the supplies could get there, and that only by dealing out what he had with the greatest care could the people be kept alive until provisions came. But they said: "Our women and children are hungry, and we are hungry. Give us what you have, and let us eat once and be filled. Then we will die content; we will not beg any more." He took them into the storehouse, and showed them just what food he had, — how much flour, how much bacon, how much rice, coffee, sugar, and so on through the list — and then told them

731 261 651 that if this was issued all at once, there was no hope for them, they would surely die, but that he expected supplies by a certain day. "And," said he, "if they do not come by that time, you shall come in here and help yourselves. That I promise you." They went away satisfied.

731 651 Meanwhile, the supplies were drawing near. The officer in command of Fort Shaw had supplied fast teams to hurry on a few loads to the agency, but the roads were so bad that the wagon trains moved with appalling slowness. At length, however, they had advanced so far that it was possible to send out light teams, to meet the heavily laden ones, and bring in a few sacks of flour and bacon; and every little helped. Gradually the suffering was relieved, but the memory of that awful season of famine will never pass from the minds of those who witnessed it.

731 651 165 There is a record of between four and five hundred Indians who died of hunger at this time, and this includes only those who were buried in the immediate neighborhood of the agency and for whom coffins were made. It is probable that nearly as many more died in the camps on other creeks, but this is mere conjecture. It is no exaggeration to say, however, that from one-quarter to one-third of the Piegan tribe starved to death during that winter and the following spring.

177 342 The change from living in portable and more or less open lodges to permanent dwellings has been followed by a great deal of illness, and at present the people appear to be sickly, though not so much so as some other tribes I have known, living under similar conditions further south.

651 Like other Indians, the Blackfeet have been several times a prey to bad agents, — men careless of their welfare, who thought only about drawing their own pay, or, worse, who used their positions simply for their own enrichment, and stole from the government and Indians alike everything upon which they could lay hands. It was with great satis-

faction that I secured the discharge of one such man a few 657
years ago, and I only regret that it was not in my power
to have carried the matter so far that he might have spent
a few years in prison.

The present agent of the Blackfeet, Major George Steell, 657
is an old-timer in the country and understands Indians very 273
thoroughly. In one respect, he has done more for this 439
people than any other man who has ever had charge of
them, for he has been an uncompromising enemy of the
whiskey traffic, and has relentlessly pursued the white men
who always gather about an agency to sell whiskey to the
Indians, and thus not only rob them of their possessions,
but degrade them as well. The prison doors of Deer Lodge
have more than once opened to receive men sent there
through the energy of Major Steell. For the good work
he has done in this respect, this gentleman deserves the
highest credit, and he is a shining example among Indian
agents.

As recently as 1887 it was rather unusual to see a Black- 177
foot Indian clad in white men's clothing; the only men who 291
wore coats and trousers were the police and a few of the
chiefs; to-day it is quite as unusual to see an Indian wearing
a blanket. Not less striking than this difference in their
way of life, is the change which has taken place in the
spirit of the tribe.

I was passing through their reservation in 1888, when the 657
chiefs asked me to meet them in council and listen to what 123
they had to say.

I learned that they wished to have a message taken to the Great Father in the East, and, after satisfying myself that their complaint was well grounded, I promised to do for them what I could. I accomplished what they desired, and since that time I have taken much active interest in this people, and my experience with them has shown me very clearly how much may be accomplished by the unaided

123 657 efforts of a single individual who thoroughly understands the needs of a tribe of Indians. During my annual visits to the Blackfeet reservation, which have extended over two, three, or four months each season, I see a great many of the men and have long conversations with them. They bring their troubles to me, asking what they shall do, and how their condition may be improved. They tell me what things they want, and why they think they ought to have them. I listen, and talk to them just as if they were so many children. If their requests are unreasonable, I try to explain to them, step by step, why it is not best that what they desire should be done, or tell them that other things which they ask for seem proper, and that I will do what I can to have them granted. If one will only take the pains necessary to make things clear to him, the adult Indian is a reasonable being, but it requires patience to make him understand matters which to a white man would need no explanation. As an example, let me give the substance of a conversation had last autumn with a leading man of the Piegans who lives on Cut Bank River, about twenty-five miles from the agency. He said to me: —

"We ought to have a storehouse over here on Cut Bank, so that we will not be obliged each week to go over to the agency to get our food. It takes us a day to go, and a day to come, and a day there; nearly three days out of every week to get our food. When we are at work cutting hay, we cannot afford to spend so much time travelling back and forth. We want to get our crops in, and not to be travelling about all the time. It would be a good thing, too, to have a blacksmith shop here, so that when our wagons break down, we will not have to go to the agency to get them mended."

This is merely the substance of a much longer speech, to which I replied by a series of questions, something like the following: —

"Do you remember talking to me last year, and telling me

on this same spot that you ought to have beef issued to you 123
here, and ought not to have to make the long journey to the 651
agency for your meat?" "Yes."

"And that I told you I agreed with you, and believed that some of the steers could just as well be killed here by the agency herder and issued to those Indians living near here?" "Yes."

"That change has been made, has it not? You now get your beef here, don't you?" "Yes."

"You know that the Piegans have a certain amount of money coming to them every year, don't you?" "Yes."

"And that some of that money goes to pay the expenses of the agency, some for food, some to pay clerks and blacksmiths, some to buy mowing-machines, wagons, harness, and rakes, and some to buy the cattle which have been issued to you?" "Yes."

"Now, if a government storehouse were to be built over here, clerks hired to manage it, a blacksmith shop built and another blacksmith hired, that would all cost money, wouldn't it?" "Yes."

"And that money would be taken out of the money coming next year to the Piegans, wouldn't it?" "Yes."

"And if that money were spent for those things, the people would have just so many fewer wagons, mowing-machines, rakes, and cattle issued to them next year, wouldn't they?" "Yes."

"Well, which would be best for the tribe, which would you rather have, a store and a blacksmith shop here on Cut Bank, or the money which those things would cost in cows and farming implements?"

"I would prefer that we should have the cattle and the tools."

"I think you are right. It would save trouble to each man, if the government would build a storehouse for him right next his house, but it would be a waste of money.

123 Many white men have to drive ten, twenty, or thirty miles
651 to the store, and you ought not to complain if you have to
do so."

After this conversation the man saw clearly that his request was an unreasonable one, but if I had merely told him that he was a fool to want a store on Cut Bank, he would never have been satisfied, for his experiences were so limited that he could not have reasoned the thing out for himself.

In my talks with these people, I praise those who have worked hard and lived well during the past year, while to those who have been idle or drunken or have committed crimes, I explain how foolish their course has been and try to show them how impossible it is for a man to be successful if he acts like a child, and shows that he is a person of no sense. A little quiet talk will usually demonstrate to them that they have been unwise, and they make fresh resolutions and promise amendment. Of course the only argument I use is to tell them that one course will be for their material advancement, and is the way a white man would act, while the other will tend to keep them always poor.

648 Some years ago, the Blackfeet made a new treaty, by
425 which they sold to the government a large portion of their
657 lands. By this treaty, which was ratified by Congress in
May, 1887, they are to receive $150,000 annually for a period of ten years, when government support is to be withdrawn. This sum is a good deal more than is required for their subsistence, and, by the terms of the treaty, the surplus over what is required for their food and clothing is to be used in furnishing to the Indians farming implements, seed, live stock, and such other things as will help them to become self-supporting.

131 The country which the Blackfeet inhabit lies just south of
132 the parallel of 49°, close to the foot of the Rocky Mountains,
and is very cold and dry. Crops can be grown there
311 successfully not more than once in four or five years, and
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the sole products to be depended on are oats and potatoes, 311
which are raised only by means of irrigation. It is evident, 121
therefore, that the Piegan tribe of the Blackfeet can never become an agricultural people. Their reservation, however, is well adapted to stock-raising, and in past years the cattlemen from far and from near have driven their herds on to the reservation to eat the Blackfoot grass ; and the remonstrances of the Indians have been entirely disregarded. Some years ago, I came to the conclusion that the proper occupation for these Indians was stock-raising. Horses they already had in some numbers, but horses are not so good for them as cattle, because horses are more readily sold than cattle, and an Indian is likely to trade his horse for whiskey and other useless things. Cattle they are much less likely to part with, and besides this, require more attention than horses, and so are likely to keep the Indians busy and to encourage them to work.

Within the past three or four years, I have succeeded in [123]
inducing the Indian Bureau to employ a part of the treaty [657]
money coming to the Blackfeet in purchasing for them cattle.

It was impressed upon them that they must care for the cattle, not kill and eat any of them, but keep them for breeding purposes. It was represented to them that, if properly cared for, the cattle would increase each year, until a time might come when each Indian would be the possessor of a herd, and would then be rich like the white cattlemen.

The severe lesson of starvation some years before had not 231
failed to make an impression, and it was perhaps owing to 657
this terrible experience that the Piegans did not eat the cows as soon as they got them, as other Indian tribes have so often done. Instead of this, each man took the utmost care of the two or three heifers he received. Little shelters and barns were built to protect them during the winter.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

231 ●657 Indians who had never worked before, now tried to borrow a mowing-machine, so as to put up some hay for their animals. The tribe seemed at once to have imbibed the idea of property, and each man was as fearful lest some accident should happen to his cows as any white man might have been. Another issue of cattle was made, and the result is that now there is hardly an individual in the tribe who is not the possessor of one or more cows. Scarcely any of the issued cattle have been eaten; there has been almost no loss from lack of care; the original stock has increased and multiplied, and now the Piegans have a pretty fair start in cattle.

121 657 This material advancement is important and encouraging. But richer still is the promise for the future. A few years ago, the Blackfeet were all paupers, dependent on the bounty of the government and the caprice of the agent. Now, they feel themselves men, are learning self-help and self-reliance, and are looking forward to a time when they shall be self-supporting. If their improvement should be as rapid for the next five years as it has been for the five preceding 1892, a considerable portion of the tribe will be self-supporting at the date of expiration of the treaty.

461 It is commonly believed that the Indian is hopelessly lazy, and that he will do no work whatever. This misleading notion has been fostered by the writings of many ignorant people, extending over a long period of time. The error had its origin in the fact that the work which the savage Indian does is quite different from that performed by the white laborer. But it is certain that no men ever worked harder than Indians on a journey to war, during which they would march on foot hundreds of miles, carrying heavy loads on their backs, then have their fight, or take their horses, and perhaps ride for several days at a stretch, scarcely stopping to eat or rest. That they did not labor regularly is of course true, but when they did work, their

Carl attended the small public school near his childhood home followed by a few 177
months at Browning High School. He dropped out because there was no bus service
from his home to town at that time and it was hard to find a place to live in Browning. [871]
No one in his family can speak Blackfeet. He takes no interest in the more
Indian social events, such as dancing, encampments, and stick games; his recreational [191]
activities center around card games and visiting with his family and 177
neighbors along the creek during the winter. During the rest of the year he spends
most of his spare time hunting. A few evenings are spent with his brother and a 517
few friends in town, where they get a bottle and drive around in a car, stopping
now and then for a few drinks. They usually end up at a friend's house where they
play cards and "hang one on."

Carl, like some of the others, also seems to live in the present and think 177
little about the future. He talks easily of the past, but with an air of detachment that puzzles me. He can relate a series of troubles and tragedies almost as if these things had happened to someone else. Is he a stoic, or is he carefully guarding his emotions from a stranger? His life conditions are extremely barren and harsh compared with mine. How can he appear so happy and satisfied with things as they are? Is it because he has neither known nor expects to know any other way? Yet he has had opportunities both on and off the reservation and in the army to meet others who live differently.

To probe into these questions, I asked about job opportunities on and off 177
the reservation. What do the tribe and the bureau do to help people find work?
"They are trying to attract industry to the reservation," he replied, "and are building 657
programs for relocation and on-the-job training. None of these has produced
much yet." His reply when asked whether or not he has considered relocation 177
was that he had thought about it but never applied. "I don't have much trouble
getting a job. Some of the fellows have gone on relocation and done all right. 464
Others didn't like it and came home." The answers imply that he is doing well 167
enough at seasonal work. There was no expression of dissatisfaction with his own
subsistence pattern.

By my standards, eight people in two rooms is overcrowded, so I asked if 177
there was any provision by either the tribe or the bureau to help a man if he wants
to add onto or repair his home. "Yes, they have a setup for that," was the answer. 657
"I guess we could get a loan like that if we needed it." This again seems an expression of satisfaction with the way things are. He recognizes no need for either more room or for repairs.

Carl has nothing to offer when asked about his future plans. I inferred 177
that he would continue as he is. What culture pattern does he reflect—Indian or white? Or is his outlook a clue to a new subculture that has developed under reservation conditions? Is this a way of life related not so much to the reservation as to a more general American subcultural pattern that develops under conditions of deprivation, a way displayed here by a man who happens to be part Indian and who lives on an Indian reservation? This question will require further examination.

Robert Thompson was in town to get parts for a mower. His ranch is north of town and the prairie grass was about ready to be cut for hay. Robert appears to be about twenty-six years old, said he is married and has two children. He is ⅛

433 Ranching and farming are the major economic pursuits of the people of these counties. The northern and western portions contain excellent natural grazing 311 areas and are extensively used by both residents and outsiders for grazing of beef cattle, sheep, and horses. The eastern third of Glacier county and the greater portion of Pondera are subject to lesser amounts of rainfall than the more westerly portions but have more frost free days, and have been utilized to a greater extent [241] for both dry and irrigation farming. Principal crops are wheat, barley, and hay.

Oil and natural gas production and refining are important industries, with 315 the principal producing fields lying just to the east of the reservation limits. Producing wells on the reservation in both the northeast and southeast corners may be tapping these same fields. Oil is also being pumped in the northwest part of the reservation and there has been revived interest recently in exploring the poten- 434 tial of the western foothill strip. Oil lease money and bonus payments for leasing rights have provided a fluctuating but important prop to the local economy. There 313 has been little manufacturing or lumbering, although the foothill strip, adjoining national forests and Glacier Park, has a lumber potential that is slowly being realized as the tribal mill in Browning increases its lumber output and new wood products industries are being attracted to the reservation.

433 The population, with an economic base of beef, wool, grain, and hay, also supports businesses, services, schools, churches, and government. Banking and [453] financing institutions are available in Cut Bank, Browning, Conrad and Valier. ● [657] Dependent children, and also those who are needy, aged, blind, or disabled are provided for by the county public welfare system established by state law and financed by tribal, county, state, and federal funds.

631 Like the other people of Glacier and Pondera counties the tribal members are citizens of the United States and of the state of Montana. They participate in [641] national and state politics and in the county, precinct, school district, and town governments according to their places of residence. Reservation boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect it. Democrats, Republicans, independents, and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

871 The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL 874) (U.S. Statutes LXIV, 1, 1950:1100) and the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (U.S. Statutes XLVIII, 1934:596) which in differing ways provide for payments to public schools in lieu of the taxes not received 872 from Indian lands held in trust. Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant, 873 and staff, are found in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning, Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

348 Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere 771 in rural regions of the United States. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers here and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or 575 several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade, and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area.

From this brief description it can be seen that the reservation shares a physical environment greatly similar to that of adjoining regions in Montana, and that its population participates in the life of county, state, and nation in much the same way as its surrounding neighbors. The people share in the United States economy; they work for wages, farm, ranch, and engage in the businesses, services, and government familiar to that economy. They send their children to the public schools, attend similar churches, and have in their midst the usual church, social and civic organizations. With few exceptions they wear the same kind of clothing, live in houses, drive automobiles, and enjoy the same radio and television programs. As I will show later, the expected rural American class structure appears to be present. 105

There are, however, some characteristics that make this area and its people different from the surrounding regions and populations. The major factors contributing to this separation appear to be:

1. A homeland has been reserved within the country for tribal members and the use and disposal of this land is restricted by governmental regulations. [657]

2. The tribal members are defined *legally* as Indians. Like other ethnic groups, Indians are usually recognized by themselves and others as a separate social category. This is the *social* definition of an ethnic. In addition the Indian has been given a legal status which further sets him apart from the general citizenry. [641]

3. The Indian is a conquered indigen, not an immigrant. This factor has social implications that require another study.

Reservation Population and Economy

The present Blackfeet reservation includes over 1½ million acres of land of which 936,848 acres are owned in trust status by individual Indians or by the Blackfeet tribe. Other than some reserve areas to be mentioned later, the balance of the land has been removed from trust as the Indian owners have been legally declared competent to handle their own financial affairs, and fee patent titles to their allotments have have been issued. In Indian bureau idiom, the land has become "alienated" from B.I.A. management. Some persons have retained their land in fee patent, while others have sold the land either to other tribal members, the tribe, or to whites. Approximately ⅓ of the land within the reservation is no longer owned by tribal members.[8] 423

The reservation also includes 4,982 acres which have been reserved by the United States for agency and reclamation purposes, and about 11,000 acres of submarginal government land leased to the tribe and re-leased by it to ranchers for grazing use. The lands have been given a use classification according to soil, vegetation, and availability of water, and the leasing of land to an ultimate user is governed by these classifications. 311

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[8] These land use figures are approximate, compiled from Fagg and Associates (1970:47) and unpublished B.I.A. Budget projections. Such figures change from year to year as individuals remove their lands from trust and, perhaps, offer it for sale. [127]

429 The ownership of mineral rights on reservation lands is complex. The original allotment under the Act of 1907, to be discussed later, vested both surface and mineral rights in the allottee. The 1919 allotment reserved the mineral rights of the newly allotted land in the name of the tribe. Subsequent issuance of fee patents and the sales of fee patent lands have included or excluded mineral rights according to the terms of each transaction so that no exact figure for Indian ownership of mineral rights is available.

657 Reservation, then, means land, "a part of the public domain, set aside for
use and occupation by a group of Indians" (Federal Indian Law 1958:20). The
656 inhabitants are not restricted to the reservation; they can come and go at will, but
on the reservation they are subject to controls that have developed around use
of the reservation lands. Certain legal privileges and restrictions have developed
from both the interpretations of federal trust obligations and the past history of
federal-Indian relations.

423 The Blackfeet reservation differs from the surrounding region, then, because
approximately ⅔ of the land is held in trust either for individual allottees or the
656 tribe, and its use is governed by federal laws and directives that do not apply
outside the reservation. Alienated lands are not affected directly by such regula-
tions, but a person owning such land finds that problems arising over such things
as boundaries, trespass, water rights and rights-of-way involve him with trust
regulations. Other ramifications of reservation land and related restrictions will be
examined in what follows.

641 An Indian is a person defined as such by law. But the law has been built over time from decisions made in individual cases, so that it is difficult to write an all-inclusive definition. In general a person can be defined as an Indian if he qualifies on two counts: "(a) that some of his ancestors lived in America before its discovery by the Europeans, and (b) that the individual is considered an 'Indian' by the community in which he lives" (Federal Indian Law 1958:6).

A Blackfeet Indian and a member of the Blackfeet tribe is defined more specifically. Present-day tribal membership is restricted by the Blackfeet Indian Tribal Constitution to persons "of Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll of the tribe as of January 1, 1935, . . . [and] all children born to any blood member . . . maintaining a legal residence within the territory of the reservation at the time of such birth" (Blackfeet Constitution 1936:1). No limitation was imposed by a necessary degree of Blackfeet descent or "blood" until 1962 when the tribal constitution was amended to require ¼ or more blood quantum for membership thereafter.

657 An Indian reservation, by its being, introduces legal qualifications that fur-
ther set apart the area and the people. This is "Indian country," a concept that has
631 been given legal currency. The definitions are diverse and complex, but in essence,
Indian country is land owned by, or reserved for, Indians and subject to the juris-
diction of the United States. The reservation is one form of Indian country, and
the federal government has jurisdiction over trust land and over any problems
692 arising from its occupancy, use, or conveyance. It has reserved jurisdiction over
ten "major crimes" (murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson,
679 burglary, larceny, robbery, incest, and assault with a dangerous weapon) committed

The tribe is both a political entity with legislative, judicial, and executive 642
powers, and a business corporation. The Corporate Charter of the Blackfeet Tribe
establishes the tribe's sphere of authority over the handling of funds and the use
of tribal assets for the benefit of its members. All tribal members are shareholders
in the corporation and have a vote in its affairs. The nine members of the tribal 643
council direct both the political and business affairs of the tribe and the corporation (U.S., Blackfeet Corporate Charter 1936).

Councilmen are elected by the secret ballot of eligible tribal members and
serve for a period of two years. Each council supervises the voting and defines the [666]
boundaries of the election districts for the election of its successor body. Four districts are regularly recognized and each is served by an established number of
councilmen. Since an amendment to the tribal constitution in 1964 reducing the
Council from thirteen to nine members, Browning district is represented by three
councilmen, and Seville, Heart Butte and Old Agency by two each (*Glacier Reporter*, July 2, 1964). Candidates file for election in the district in which they
reside, but each voter votes for candidates from all districts. Residents of one dis- [666]
trict, therefore, may have a strong voice in deciding who will represent the voters
of another district.

The tribal council elects its own officers, appoints its own court officers and
police, and hires its secretarial and administrative staff. This body has been given
broad powers for political and economic action within limits reserved by law to
the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Department of the Interior. Tribal actions
concerning disposal of trust lands, and involving tribal credit or expenditures above [657]
an established amount are subject to review or approval by the Commissioner of
Indian Affairs or his representatives.

Tribal membership legally defines a person as a Blackfeet Indian, and such
membership provides a set of privileges and liabilities not shared by nonmembers. 641
The income derived by a tribal member from crops raised on trust land, or the
proceeds from the sale of stock grazed on trust land, are not subject to federal 641
income taxes (Federal Indian Law 1958:883). All lands held in trust by the 651
federal government are exempt from local and state property taxes. Qualified tribal
members are given preference over nonmembers in the awarding of grazing or 641
farming leases of trust land, and tribal members, like other Indians of ¼ or more [427]
degree Indian descent, are given a preference credit in applications for employment
by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These are a few of the privileges that go with [466]
tribal membership. As members of the corporation, the people also share in the
earnings of the corporation. Occasionally, more frequently in the past when oil 641
exploration was more active, the council votes a per capita payment as a distribu- 434
tion of tribal income in excess of that required for the operational expenses.

Such privileges are offset by some liabilities—particularly for men who
feel competent to handle their own affairs. Trust lands must be leased through the 641
agency land office and all use, leasing, procurement of fee patent titles, and sale of 423
land come under government supervision. The man who has his land held in trust
must request and receive permission to make certain uses of his land, have his 425
plans reviewed and approved more often, go through more red tape, than the man
who has a fee patent title to his land.

428 The allotment acts provided that the inheritance laws of the state should
govern the distribution of allotted lands upon the death of an allottee. The laws
of Montana recognize disposal of property by will, and the federal government recognizes
the transfer of trust title, in whole or in part, by will. In the absence of
a will, state laws define the succession and the share of an estate each heir shall
423 receive. The result of fifty years or more of practice has been an increased fragmentation
of original allotments to the point where an allotment may have as
many as fifty owners, or have been portioned out into a series of plots too small
to serve economic ends. The B.I.A. recently estimated that about 475,000 acres of
reservation trust land had multiple owners (Blackfeet Agency FY 1972 Budget
[427] and Program Memorandum). The agency is charged with the duty of keeping records
of such changes in ownership, and with leasing such lands for the benefit of
[657] the owners. A lease requires acquiescence of many owners and the monies received
must be credited to the accounts of all heirs. Until more people make wills,
428 and more frequently pass undivided ownership to fewer people, the land fragmentation
will continue to snowball and the work load of the agency will increase
in proportion. This is the "heirship land" problem that plagues the economies of
most Indian reservations where tribal lands were alloted to individual owners.

426 The trust status of the land makes it poor security for mortgages so it is
difficult for the owner of such land to borrow money for short or long-term operating
expenses and capital improvements. The inability to secure ready financing,
the multiple ownership situation, plus other factors that will be introduced later,
have contributed to the present economic condition of the tribal members.

In 1962 I wrote:

> 433 On February 1960 in an area in which the predominant industries are agriculture
> 241 and stock raising, it was reported [in unpublished tribal documents] that
> only 40 tribal members are farm operators, and of this number it is estimated
> that perhaps only 10 are farming sufficient acreage to be considered an economic
> [434] unit. The farming family's income must be supplemented by wage work. One
> hundred and fifty families of tribal members are listed as ranchers, with an average
> 433 of 85 head of beef cattle, or equivalent in sheep. A conservative estimate of
> the stock required for an economic unit is 100 head, so many of these people
> 231 may also need supplemental income. It was estimated that another 27 families are
> self-supporting, or have received the financing which should make them self-supporting,
> 433 in business, other non-agricultural enterprises, or as regularly employed
> wage earners.
>
> In a credit appraisal of an estimated 1,200 Blackfeet families, 700 families
> 463 were listed as having poor security risks. These latter had neither the experience
> nor the aptitude, neither the training nor the inclination, to operate a going enterprise
> 426 or meet the standards of financial responsibility set by the council for
> prospective clients of a Revolving Loan Fund. These figures indicate that approximately
> [434] 983 families of the tribe are unable to be self-supporting and depend upon
> casual labor, income from the leasing of lands if they have land, tribal per-capita
> payments and welfare for minimum subsistence.

Figures on non-Indian use of reservation land reveal the gap between Indian
311 use and the potential of the region. Seventy-five non-Indian operators lease grazing
land for stock enterprises, with an average of 5,067 acres each as compared
[231] to an average of 2,666 among the 150 Indian operators. One hundred seventy-five
non-Indian farmers cultivate farms that average 560 acres each as compared to
[241] an average farm size of 200 acres for the 40 Indian farmers. The non-Indians are

son found that horses, guns, metal, smallpox, and a few other elements of European 175
culture had preceded him by at least fifty years as a result of contact and trade with
neighboring Indian tribes (Glover 1962:240–251). The earlier indirect influence, 177
and the later increasing association with the European immigrants led to extensive
changes in Blackfeet culture, but on the whole the Indians made an orderly adaptation
to the changing ecological and cultural conditions for another seventy years
or so after Thompson's visit (Ewers 1955, Lewis 1942, Wilson 1963). The Blackfeet
experienced a period of cultural elaboration rather than of disruption and
decline, so that the Piegan and the other Blackfeet divisions—the Blood and the
Northern Blackfoot, who later came under Canadian jurisdiction—were at the
height of their power at mid-nineteenth century.

The closing decades of that century, however, were times of radical change.
The buffalo, the keystone of the Blackfeet economy, were decimated and by 1884 196
the Indians had become dependent upon the United States government for subsistence.
The Piegan were confined to a reservation, and both ecological conditions 157
and the policies of the dominant society forced further changes upon them.

Seventy-five years later, when I began my fieldwork among them, the 177
Blackfeet tribe remained in a small portion of its original territory, but the intervening
events had markedly changed its composition, social organization and
cultural characteristics. The tribe was no longer the homogeneous group described
by the early writers. Its members reflected the years of changes brought about as
people of two societies, each organized and guided by differing cultural directives,
adjusted to each other and to changing conditions. Even a casual observer of the
reservation scene could note a wide range of differences in appearance, speech,
dress, and economic adjustment among the tribal population; could recognize
some of the kinds of people described in Chapter 1.

History before 1850

The Blackfeet spoke a language of the Algonkian stock, a linguistic affiliation 174
that has been the basis for inferring that they had migrated into the plains
from the northeastern woodlands in precontact times. Early migration problems are 197
still unsolved, but Thompson's host during his winter visit, Saukamappee, an
elderly Cree living with the Piegan, recalled how in his youth he had accompanied
his father and other Cree warriors on a journey to join the Piegan and other
allies in an attack on an encampment of "the Snake Indians on the Plains of the
Eagle Hill. . . ." The Piegan were found camped along the north bank of the North
Saskatchewan River, across from the Eagle Hills (Glover 1962:241), which would
place them somewhat north and west of present-day Saskatoon. Both Ewers
(1955:300) and Lewis (1942:10) use this evidence to infer that this region was
Piegan hunting territory early in the eighteenth century, and noting that the usual
relative positions of the Blackfeet divisions put the Piegan in the van of a subsequent
movement west and south to the Rocky Mountains and into what is now
Montana. It was here that they were studied by Grinnell, McClintock, Curtis, 127
Uhlenbeck, DeJong, and Wissler who visited the reservation during the two decades 114

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 97]

4

Dependency and Readaptation: 1884-1970

Introduction

175 THE UNSUCCESSFUL HUNTS of 1883–1884 marked the end of the subsistence
224 pattern on which the Blackfeet had built their culture. The Indians scoured
the region for food, and moved in around the agency to ask for help from
175 the agent. In Blackfeet culture those who had food shared it during times of want;
the agent supposedly had food and as a leader he was now expected to validate his
657 status by caring for those who had none. The United States government had
acknowledged responsibility for the Blackfeet in the 1855 and subsequent treaties,
165 but agency supplies were inadequate to meet famine conditions. Up to ¼ of the
Piegan perished during the winter of 1883–1884 (Ewers 1958:293–294).

The Indians had to find a new and meaningful subsistence base as well as
175 new ways in which to express old values and to maintain prestige and status. At
177 the same time, the government, upon which they were dependent, pressed them
to accept new value and prestige systems, quite different from their traditional ones.

128 The following historical review of the Blackfeet adaptation and adjustment since 1884 includes a statement of the general objectives and attendant values expressed in United States Indian policies of the period, a presentation of the means used to further these aims, and the Blackfeet reactions to them during (a) the period of dependency to 1935, and (b) the period of self-rule under the Indian Reorganization Act from 1935 to the 1960s.

United States Indian Policies

175 The prevalent policy of the period emphasized the eventual "civilization"
648 and assimilation of the Indians, although the means to these ends were often
diverse and inconsistent. There appeared to be general agreement by this time that

> 175 648 . . . powder and shot, and out-deal them in all their transactions, it is the duty of the Government of the United States to preserve them in some form or other until they have matured sufficiently to become able to control their own domestic affairs, and manage their own property (U.S. Congressional Record XVII 1886: 1764).

These two themes will be seen to alternate in ascendancy in governmental policies from that time to the present. The goal of eventual assimilation has been questioned seriously only in the last forty years. The debate culminated in the passage of the General Allotment Act of 1887 that authorized the President to permit the allotment in severalty of reservation lands to Indians (U.S. Statutes XXIV 1887:388).

The values stressed in that policy are work (industry), self-dependence (self-support), individualism (independence of the tribe), and acquisitiveness (implied in home-building, material thrift, and private ownership). These are some of the qualities valued by the culture-bearing agents of American society who came into long and continuous contact with the members of the Blackfeet tribe. The Americans apparently gave little thought to either the preservation of the Indian value and status systems or to ways in which these might be used to implement governmental policies. The Blackfeet probably thought of the whites as a minority group who had promised to help them and turned to the white man for help with little thought that Indian values were in serious jeopardy.

128 The following review of the history of United States-Blackfeet relations from 1884 to 1970 attempts to trace the interplay between the American and Blackfeet value systems during the course of economic readaptation. The events of history tend to be those seen and recorded by whites, and for many years even the thoughts of the Blackfeet had to find expression through the white man's pen.

The Period of Dependency, 1884–1935

175 657 1884–1891 Following the winter of 1883–1884 the first efforts of the agents were directed toward relieving the famine and providing for the future sustenance of the people. A new agent made his first report in the fall of 1884 in which he wrote that he found few results of past efforts to make the Blackfeet sedentary and self-supporting farmers (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1884:106–108). During the next six years the agents attempted to build up the agency farm and herd, to encourage the Indians to raise grain and produce, and to forward other programs of "civilization."

175 177 [721] [554] [224] From this time on, the dependent Blackfeet were subjected increasingly to the American concepts of law and order. The Indian police, under the agent's direction, were instrumental in eliminating warfare and horse raiding. In 1888 the agent reported that Indian "depredations" had ceased and there had been no horse "stealing" during the preceding year (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1888:152). American pressure against war and horse raiding had eliminated two more traditional avenues to the acquisition of property and prestige; hunting, as a major expression of skill, had already lost its place in Blackfeet life.

In his report of 1888, Agent Baldwin was less optimistic about the agricultural
possibilities on the reservation than he had been in previous years (U.S. 175
Comm. Ind. Affairs 1888:150–152). The crops failed in 1889 and 1890, and in 657
1891 the agent reported that no crops had been planted in the past year either
by Indians or by the agency because of fear of further drought (U.S. Comm. Ind.
Affairs 1891:265).

In 1888 the agreement whereby the Blackfeet relinquished claim to the
lands to the east of the present reservation boundary was ratified by Congress. 175
In return the United States promised annuities, in the amount of $150,000 for 648
a period of ten years, to be paid in the form of goods and services necessary for
Indian progress toward civilization (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1888:303).

The first ration of cattle and horses under the agreement was issued in
1890. Agent John Catlin summed up the preceding five years of agricultural 175
endeavor as "commendable," but wrote that the Indians had experienced failure 231
"through no fault of their own." The Indian interest in stock raising led to his
recommendation that grazing be given precedence over agriculture in future programs
(U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1890:114). Efforts to establish farming as an [241]
economic base had met with little success.

1892–1905 By 1892 the Piegan herd had been built up to 6,827 head of cattle and 4,616 head of horses. The Indians were moving out over more of the reservation and claiming land in anticipation of eventual allotment. They were beginning to establish herds, build houses and corrals, and to shift the emphasis of cultivation to raising hay for the stock (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1892:280–281, 807). Each subsequent report emphasized the suitability of the area for stock raising and reported a substantial increase in the Indian herds.

In 1898 a severe winter and a shortage of feed caused a 40 percent loss among the Indian cattle, and the irrigation engineer for the agency recommended extension of the irrigation canals in order to increase hay production (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1898:187–188). Indian ranchers, however, had a chance to recover from this setback. Additional cattle were included in the annual issues and stock raising continued.

An agreement for the sale of the Rocky Mountain portion of the reservation
was approved by the United States government in 1896 (U.S. Statutes XXIX 175
1897:353). The conditions of the sale assured another ten years of annuities after 648
the obligations under the 1887 treaty had been met.

By 1904 the agent reported a total of 20,509 head of cattle and 12,000
head of horses owned by the Blackfeet, and claimed that only 10 percent of Indian 231
subsistence had been dependent upon government issues for that fiscal year (U.S.
Comm. Ind. Affairs 1904:610–611, 600). Thus in the first two decades of dependency
Blackfeet had tried farming and experienced failure. They were then encouraged [241]
to try stock raising and had begun to make some economic adaptation as
herdsmen.

Their *cultural* readaptation, up to this time, had been less successful than
the economic development. The increasing settlement of the lands around the 177
reservation and the efforts of the police, as noted earlier, had ended horse raiding. [721]
Christian missions, particularly from the Roman Catholic church, had been [797]

177 intermittently active among the Piegan for several decades, but Father Imoda had
797 discounted their success at conversion prior to 1870 (Bradley 1923:316). In
1890 the Holy Family Mission school was opened in the Two Medicine valley
(U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1890:115) and in the following years Christianity
177 gradually gained predominance over the Blackfeet religion. In the meantime,
agents, missionaries, and teachers actively combatted any expression of many
elements of Indian culture.

> Sun dances, Indian mourning, Indian medicine, beating of the tom-tom, gambling, wearing of Indian costumes . . . selling, trading, exchanging or giving away anything issued to them have been prohibited, while other less pernicious practices, such as horse-racing, face-painting, etc., are discouraged (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1894:159).

177 In addition, the children were forbidden to speak the Blackfeet language in the
schools (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1893:174). Several informants, who attended
191 either agency or mission schools during the first decades of the twentieth century,
recall being punished for "speaking Indian" in the schools or dormitories.

177 The suppression of elements of culture that the white men thought were
inconsistent with civilization did not eliminate the practices, but did hamper and
limit their expression and transmission. The readaptation process was slow, but
the agents usually found some grounds for optimism.

231 1905–1920 Progress in stock raising continued through 1905 and 1906.
The agent persistently attempted to keep encroaching herds off Indian pastures,
[427] and continued a practice begun in 1904 of issuing leases and permits to both
white and Indian stockmen for grazing privileges on tribal lands.[*]

The economic growth was again reversed by a severe winter in 1906
and 1907. The losses among the stock were heavy and "impoverished some of
the industrious and worthy members of the tribe" (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs
433 1907:13–14). An investigation into conditions on the reservation was ordered,
177 and the investigating officer's report sheds some light on the progress of economic adaptation to that time:

> He reported that the mixed bloods—about three eighths of the tribe—were able generally to take care of themselves, but the full bloods as a rule had little knowledge of ranch or farm work, were unwilling to stay a reasonable length of time in one place or to work where they could not be in parties, were very apt to quit on little or no provocation and regardless of the interests of the employer, . . . (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1907:13–14).

● 657 A federal act of March 1907 provided for the allotment in severalty of
the Blackfeet reservation. Each tribal member would receive 280 acres of grazing
425 land and 40 acres of irrigable land, or 320 acres of grazing land only. Surplus
[312] lands would be opened for public settlement. An appropriation was included for
the construction of an irrigation system for the lands to be allotted; the money

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[*] The first such permit recorded was for a five-year lease of 2,400 acres to the Conrad Investment Company (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1904:77). An increasing number of leases are reported for most of the following years.

appropriated to be reimbursed from proceeds of the sale of the surplus reservation
lands (U.S. Statutes XXXIV 1907:1015, 1035). Allotment surveys and work 657
on the irrigation projects were carried on during the two years following the 425
enactment of the legislation (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1908:61; 1909:4–5). Irrigation 312
construction provided an additional source of labor and income for many
Indians.

The last annuities under the agreement of 1896 were paid in 1908. Henceforth
Indian rations and aid were dependent upon tribal income, reimbursable 657
government appropriations, and occasional relief measures. The statistics from 434
the agents' reports for the next few years give a picture of continuing economic
progress for the tribe as a whole.

The First World War relieved some of the pressure on reservation resources
—good weather and abundant crops prevailed generally until 1917; livestock and 433
produce found a ready market at high prices; and many Blackfeet were drawn
into the armed forces, thereby reducing the local labor force. But all of this does
not reflect accurately the condition of individuals. A process was going on that 178
was slowly segmenting the population.

First, the population was growing—from 2,063 in 1905 (U.S. Board Ind.
Comm. 1905:facing 16) to 2,957 in 1920—and becoming increasingly hybridized. 162
White men were marrying the Indians' daughters. The full-blood Blackfeet loved 563
the grandchildren these marriages produced, but they were "half-breeds," and
hard to accept as "real Indians." Of the total, in 1920, less than half, or 1,141
persons, were full-bloods, while the balance were mixed. Among the mixed-blood
population, 956 were ½ or less Indian (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1920:67).
Secondly, the individually owned herds were growing and the returns from this 231
business were high, but as the superintendent wrote in 1918, 3 percent of the
tribe owned 95 percent of the stock when he reported for duty in 1915 (U.S.
Congress Sen. Report 451 1918:3). An investigator for the Board of Indian
Commissioners, in November of 1918, found that the full-bloods were divided 231
as to their capabilities as stockmen. He reported that "about one-third of the 563
300 and more full-blood families is incapable of handling cattle." Another third
probably could become cattlemen if properly instructed and supervised, and the
balance of the full-bloods were doing well at the industry. A number of mixed-bloods
had built prosperous looking ranches and had had "marked success at
this business" (U.S. Board Ind. Comm. 1918:352–353).

Other forces were already at work that were to alter the uneven progress
of the Blackfeet. Beginning in 1917, the Indian Bureau began pressing for the 657
rapid reduction of Indian dependency by the removal of "competent" Indians 425
from trust status (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1917:3–5). By 1920, 1,011 Blackfeet
had been awarded fee patent title to 312,250 acres (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs
1920:171) under a policy that was to result in the alienation of reservation lands
and the creation of a large number of landless Indians.

A drought cycle began in 1917 and continued for four years (U.S. Board
Ind. Comm. 1921:55; Whetstone 1956:145–146). The end of the war, in 1917, 457
resulted in the loss of markets. The drought and falling prices brought bankruptcy
to both cattlemen and farmers in this part of Montana by 1919 and 1920. Veterans

457 returned to swell the labor force. The Blackfeet shared in this change. The white
homesteaders and cattlemen could abandon their places and go elsewhere, the
Indian could not and had to rely again upon the government (U.S. Board Ind.
[657] Comm. 1921:56). The Indian, however, did have the agency to turn to, an advantage
not shared by the white man. During the winter of 1920–1921 rations were
issued to "over 2,000, or about two-thirds of the entire population" (U.S. Comm.
Ind. Affairs 1922:12). Several informants reported that their families and friends
were ruined at this time. A few were able to make a comeback, but many abandoned
their ranches and did not try again.

425 In 1919, a second allotment of reservation lands was authorized in the
annual appropriation bill for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (U.S. Statutes XLI
1919:16–17). After this no further allotments in severalty were made to the
Blackfeet Indians.

433 The Blackfeet generally were dependent again. Thirty-five years of attempted
economic readaptation were behind them. They had tried farming and found it
[241] unrewarding. They had found satisfaction in stock raising, but only a few were
[231] able to succeed at this in the face of cold winters, periods of drought, and the
fluctuating markets regulated by national and international conditions. Large numbers
464 of younger men had been employed in seasonal labor, railway and irrigation
construction work, harvesting and ranch labor and had served in the armed forces.
434 These jobs provided some cash income but little training for long-range adjustment.
Unused allotments were leased to others to provide another small cash
[427] return to the Indian owner. Many people depended entirely upon the rations issued
and the cash that could be earned by wage work or leasing of land.

433 Periodic crop failures and price fluctuations made it difficult for the Indian
to understand or to develop faith in long-range plans. Each government program
offered future rewards and security, but the promised rewards never materialized;
[177] the only tangible things were cash, rations, and relief. The white man's values of
thrift and hard work had been developed and maintained by a better than average
experience of success; few Blackfeet, by 1920, had experienced enough consistent
reward to become imbued with these values. Every ten years or so their best
efforts had resulted in failure.

1920–1935 The next fifteen years were in many ways a repetition of the the past, and reinforced more than they changed the expectation patterns. Montana farmers, generally, experienced a severe depression during this time (Montana Almanac 1957:122) and this was capped by the national depression and the droughts of the Dust Bowl years that began in 1929 and 1930 (Toole 1959:240).

657 In 1921 a new and dedicated agent, Frank C. Campbell, began a "Five
179 Year Program" of subsistence farming and economic development financed by
reimbursable Indian bureau funds. He visited each Indian home and by consultation
won support for his program. The Blackfeet were given a sense of participating
in the planning of their own economy. The agent consulted with them and
made a place for indigenous leaders with whom the people could discuss and
resolve their problems (U.S. Board Ind. Comm. 1923:47; 1925:22–23).

Campbell remained with them until 1929. His program benefited many 657
people, but others wanted more independence. They wanted to restock and operate
their ranches, to continue their own operations with a minimum of governmental 179
interference (Ewers 1958:322–323). Nevertheless, the Five Year Programs gave many persons a sense of accomplishment and helped carry the Indians through a period of widespread hard times.

The wholesale granting of competency and fee patents was halted in 1926 425
when it was recognized that "the lands of a vast majority of Indians who had been given absolute control of their allotments [had] passed from Indian ownership in various ways . . ." (U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1926:10–11).

The cycle of success and failure was not broken by the Five Year Plans, 433
however. The enthusiasm of both the Indians and the agents died down during
the years between 1929 and 1935 and the greater number of the Blackfeet 179
returned to economic dependency (Ewers 1958:323).

In 1933 the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) and the Civilian 657
Conservation Corps (C.C.C.) programs were established to meet national unemployment and the benefits were extended to Indian reservations (U.S. Sec't. 433
Interior 1937:218). Like the irrigation construction of earlier years, these programs provided a source of seasonal cash labor, an important prop to the economy, but one that provided little training for permanent employment on the reservation.

At this point in Blackfeet adaptation, new national Indian policies were 648
being formulated. The Meriam Report, a monumental study of the Indian problems published in 1928, questioned the whole doctrine of assimilation of the Indians.

> He who wishes to merge into the social and economic life of the prevailing civilization of this country should be given all practicable aid and advice in making the necessary adjustments. He who wants to remain an Indian and live according to his old culture should be aided in doing so (Meriam 1928:28).

This, and many other of the recommendations, became official policy with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934 (U.S. Statutes XLVIII 1934:984). The act provided, among other things, for the cessation of allotment of Indian land, a limitation on the sale of restricted Indian land to other than tribal members, and the establishment of a revolving loan fund from which Indian corporations could borrow to further either tribal or individual enterprises. Tribes were authorized to organize and to adopt a constitution, and those who organized were given broad powers of self-government previously denied to them. Organized tribes were also empowered to incorporate and manage tribal properties and income. Actions of both the political and business organizations were subject to approval and review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In addition, the traditional cultures were given recognition for the first time. A circular sent to all agencies in 1934 illustrates the sharp reversal from previous communications about Indian cultural practices:

> 648 No interference with Indian religious life or expression will hereafter be tolerated
> . . . and it is desirable that Indians be bilingual. . . . The Indian arts are
> to be prized, nourished, and honored (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1934:90).

The Indians were to have a choice, and to be allowed to play some part in decisions about their future development.

The Period of Self-Government, 1935–1970

642 The Blackfeet Constitution and the Blackfeet Corporate Charter were
accepted and approved in 1935. The population continued to grow: the report
161 for 1935 lists the membership of the Blackfeet Tribe as 3,962, of which 561
162 were living outside the reservation jurisdiction (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1935:163).
The economy improved slowly after the bad years of the early thirties. The stockmen,
433 in particular, were aided by a provision for a repayment cattle pool authorized
in 1934 (see U.S. Sec't. Interior 1937:212–213 for repayment in kind program,
231 and 1944:241 for a review of the program). A man could build a herd by borrowing
cattle from the pool and repaying in kind from the increase.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act (U.S. Statutes XLVIII 1934:956) passed in
658 1934 and amended in 1936 (U.S. Statutes XLIX 1936:1498) authorized the Secretary
657 of the Interior to contract with a state or other political units, and with
schools, colleges, and private corporations for educational and medical services,
871 agricultural assistance, social welfare, and relief for Indians. The Annual Report
for 1934 stated that the Browning schools were assuming the task of educating
the Blackfeet children from that district (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1934:85).

433 The majority of the Blackfeet still were attempting to readapt to the
immediate present, to find success in a new economic endeavor. They were pressed
177 to close a wide cultural gap in a short period of time, and to make things more
difficult, the national economy would not stand still. Ranching and farming were
changing in both production and marketing practices. A writer for the *Montana
Almanac* noted a trend away from subsistence farming in the 1920s as homestead
holdings proved to be too small for efficient farm and ranch operations, especially
with the increasing use of power machinery in subsequent years (1957:202).

433 The Indian's future on small subsistence farms of 80 acres, or on a ranch
using a 360 to 420 acre grazing allotment, was not promising. A successful operation
231 required the use of leased land and adequate capital. The heirship status
241 of individual trust lands made leasing difficult, and trust restrictions inhibited
the mortgaging of such lands. The day of slowly building a ranch or farm from
a cow, some seed, and hard work was disappearing. Few Blackfeet were established
sufficiently in the 1930s to build and maintain a remunerative enterprise.

From 1936 through 1940 general drought conditions continued in the
region (U.S., Indians at Work IV, 7 1936:37, 8 1936:37–39; Toole 1959:240—
434 for Montana from 1929 to 1939). A few men held onto their farms and ranches,
but most were forced to rely on wages from occasional labor and welfare payments.
795 One report stated that general poverty was the lot of ¾ of the Blackfeet people
in 1936 (U.S., Indians at Work IV, 4, 1936:38).

An additional source of unearned income was provided when the Indians were declared eligible for Social Security benefits by an act of 1936 (U.S. Statutes XLIX 1936:620). This provided categorical aid to the needy, blind, aged, and the dependent children. In 1939, 91 old persons, 186 children, and 3 blind persons on the Blackfeet reservation received this help (U.S. Statistical Report 1939:15). 434 657

From about 1936 on, the impact of modern medicine began to be felt by the Blackfeet. The agency physician reported an increased desire for obstetric service, "an increase from an average of ten a year to 127 in the fiscal year for 1936" (U.S., Indians at Work IV, 4, 1936:39). A new hospital was opened in 1937,[10] and during the fiscal year 1940 a staff of twelve served 1,181 patients in addition to providing dispensary treatment to 5,204 cases. Five field employees administered to an additional 4,945 (U.S. Ind. Affairs Stat. Supplement 1940:82). C.C.C. nurses and Red Cross workers were also tending to the health of the Blackfeet (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1937:218). The medicine men were losing their hold. By 1959 informants reported that all the Indians used the Public Health Service hospital and medicines. Only a few medicine men were left and while they did some curing, they too went to the white doctor on occasion. 758 [844] [743] [759] [756] [756]

The tribal council attempted to further self-help improvement projects using revolving loan funds appropriated by Congress. The Office of Indian Affairs encouraged other enterprises by providing farm and home extension workers to advise the farmers and ranchers, and to organize women's community clubs for instruction in homemaking. The extension agents encouraged the growth of 4-H clubs to teach agriculture, stock raising and homemaking to the boys and girls (see reports in U.S., Indians at Work III, 12, 1936:43; and in U.S. Comm. Ind. Affairs 1936:179–184; 1937:211–217). 657 654

By 1941, the eve of World War II, the Blackfeet had made but slow recovery. The long-range economic problems had not been solved. They, like other Indians, were still leasing the land to others rather than using it themselves (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1941:451–452). The C.C.C. remained an important economic prop. 433

The war years, 1942–1945, had far-reaching effects on the Blackfeet. The C.C.C. program was suspended in 1942 (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1943:317), but several hundred young men and women served in the armed forces and worked in defense plants around the country (Ewers 1958:324). The "greatest exodus of Indians from reservations that has ever taken place" occurred during the war years (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1944:237). Indians were meeting other Americans, learning new skills, and seeing more of the outside world. Ready markets and higher prices for farm products coincided with increased rainfall to bring general prosperity to the Montana farmers and ranchers (Toole 1959:241), and the Blackfeet shared in this. 722 433 [167] [177]

Like all past periods of activity and increased economic advance, this one met reversals after the war. The greater number of the Indians returned to the 433 727

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[10] Reported under construction (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1936:175); all hospitals under construction in 1936 were reported completed in 1937 (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1937:234).

433 and ranches increased the need for additional capital, but funds were not available
[470] to meet the demand. Periods of declining employment, that is the recession of
1957–1959, cut into individual earnings from wage labor. No new proven oil
[460] fields had been tapped, and interest in oil exploration decreased. When individual
[315] and tribal earnings fell off, the demand for welfare funds increased. The council
contributed the greatest share to the county welfare program, so the relief the
657 people received was yet another drain upon tribal income.

Tribal self-government suffered under these pressures. It was difficult to
665 get a majority of the tribe to support any political or economic measure. The
council, itself split on issues, despaired of tribal unity:

> [434] Members of the Blackfeet Tribe are generally very poor. Their income is meager and consists mostly of income from leased trust land, casual labor, and participation in Tribal programs operated with Tribal income.
>
> 652 It is very difficult to convince these people that Tribal income should be assigned for any purpose. Most of our people see only the spectre of having their income, and consequently Tribal programs and their direct benefits, diverted into programs designed for only more progressive members of the Tribe. To these people, it is a matter of personal survival. Any possible reduction in Tribal income to them automatically means a reduction in personal income.
>
> 657 . . . until at least thirty per cent of the adult population of the Tribe becomes self-supporting and thus able to plan and to think in terms of the future, it appears that programs requiring popular approval for use of locally supervised Tribal funds will certainly be limited to those programs which meet the daily emergency needs of members of the Blackfeet Tribe. (Letter from the Secretary of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 3, 1960, Blackfeet Tribal Council Documents.)

Consequently, long-range programs were often deferred, per capita payments were made, and in most cases, the recipients spent the money for immediate needs.

The pessimism reflected above should be tempered, however. Even as he
[362] wrote the letter, the tribal secretary and other councilmen were working on plans
655 for improving the housing on the reservation. Following councils, in face of
continuing criticism by many tribal members, invested money in programs to
313 develop tribal resources and provide more opportunities for employment on the
reservation: one of the first fruits of this effort was the establishment of the Blackfeet Forest Products Enterprises in 1963. This group was funded by the tribe in the amount of $10,000 and given the authority to lease a mill site and to award a franchise for the erection and operation of a sawmill to a private operator. The mill was to hire local help and to use logs cut by Blackfeet labor from the tribal timber holdings. Mill operations have suffered from breakdowns because of the age of the equipment acquired; several operators have taken the concession and given it up in the face of difficulties; but the mill continues to operate, troubles are being ironed out, and the hours of work available to local men has gradually increased to the point that the sawmill and attendant timber cutting operations appear to be a small but important prop to the local economy.

654 With a tribal investment of both land and money, and a loan from the
U.S. Economic Development Administration, the Business Council has developed an industrial park adjacent to the railroad just south of Browning. The council,

with the help of the Browning Industrial Development Corporation formed by private citizens both members and nonmembers of the tribe, has actively sought to attract small industries to the industrial park with some success. One industry, a wood products prefabrication plant, is presently in operation, constructing houses for tribal housing programs, and negotiations continue with other potential occupants. 654

The tragic flood of 1964 had left 129 families homeless. An emergency appropriation to the B.I.A. provided 5.5 million dollars for relief and reconstruction of homes, roads, dams, and canals on the reservation (*Glacier Reporter*, August 20, 1964). By late October 1964 the first units were being fabricated and hauled to the home sites in the old communities (*Glacier Reporter*, October 24, 1964). Some families chose not to move back to the old location and had their homes erected in city block patterns in Browning, Babb, and Starr School. In many, but not all, instances the new homes were roomier and provided more modern cooking and sanitary facilities than had been the case with the houses they replaced. 659 731 362

Good homes have been scarce on the reservation for many years, with only 32 percent of Indian families living in sound housing in 1969 according to a B.I.A. estimate (FY 1972 Budget and Program Memorandum). Housing programs developed by the Blackfeet Indian Housing Authority have been making 362 [657]

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Several generations of housing: One log house has been renovated and expanded under a B.I.A. Home Improvement program.

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New home constructed by the owner under the Mutual Aid Housing program.

362 657 an impact, however. Low-rent home consruction programs have been funded by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development; fifty such units were completed and accepted in 1966 and another fifty-five were nearing completion during the summer of 1970. Construction had started during that summer of fifty middle income rental homes financed by a tribal investment of land and F.H.A. supported loans. In another program, the Housing Authority, supported by the U.S. Federal Housing Assistance Administration began Mutual Help Housing construction. The first units under this program were occupied in 1965 and additional units have been completed and occupied in each succeeding year in Browning, Babb, and Starr School. This is a cooperative endeavor drawing on the resources of many agencies. The F.H.A.A. made a loan for the purchase of material and wages for supervisory labor, the B.I.A. provided general supervisory help, the tribe through the Housing Authority selected the candidates for home ownership. The purchasers contributed their labor to build their own house and to help their neighbors, and agreed to pay off the loan with small monthly payments geared to the family income. No one buyer could occupy his house until all houses of any one segment of the program were finished. These projects take time; the faster builder awaits the slower, but with cooperation the job gets done.

653 Other tribal investments of land combined with federal loan programs have resulted in the completion of a new tribal office and community center and a new modern jail.

529 [655] The attention of both the tribe and the B.I.A. has recently turned to the development of the tourist potential of the reservation. For many years the Blackfeet have been aware of the tourists. Many have earned money as entertainers at the lodges of Glacier National Park, others have profited from the sale of Indian [217] [531] [443] crafts to tourists passing through the reservation to and from the park. The Museum of the Plains Indian has attracted an ever increasing number of visitors since its opening in 1941, and the Blackfeet Arts and Crafts Association has supplied and sold local Indian work through the museum gift shop and through its own shop at St. Mary. [p. 62]

its own shop at St. Mary. Duck Lake in the northern part of the reservation has 529
long been famous as a fishing spot and attracted its share of travelers. But it is
becoming apparent that the tourist potential has hardly been tapped. Plans are 529
well along for a major tourist complex, with a lodge, campground, dining facilities, bar, marina, Indian tepee village and other facilities on Lower St. Mary Lake. 655
Some camping facilities are already available and others are being planned. Such enterprises will surely produce revenues for the tribe; how many jobs will result for tribal members is another question. Concessionaires often bring their own employees in spite of efforts by the tribe to guarantee these jobs to local people.

Head Start, Community Action Planning and other ventures supported by 657
grants from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity continue to relieve some of the problems of the tribe; yet much needs to be done. I feel a sense of optimism about the future, but find this feeling difficult to support except for certain material signs of an improved economy—new buildings, homes, roads and services. For many people, however, the basic problem of a meaningful job and a reliable income seem as far away as ever. New industries help, but still do not provide 464
jobs for all who need them among a growing population. Employment reports still show high unemployment and a primary dependence on firefighting and other seasonal and sporadic kinds of wage labor for jobs. Robbins's study of the Heart Butte region does little to allay these fears. He reported that only 50 percent 434
of the cash income reported by the members of his sample came from employment, another 20 percent derived from land leased to others and 30 percent of the income for these households came from welfare funds (Robbins 1968:198). Heart Butte is not representative of the whole reservation, but may well indicate the economic conditions in the underdeveloped rural areas.

A similarly gloomy view is expressed by local people in an application for the support of a Model Cities Program:

> The lack of Employment Opportunities is basic. Year round jobs are scarce. Available opportunities in this area are mostly seasonal, thus throwing many workers into a low income bracket. This is true of Indian and non-Indian alike. Jobs that do become available are oftentimes accompanied with unrealistic requirements, i.e., setting educational levels too high, years of experience for the job too extreme, or emphasis on racial preferences.
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> There are not enough diverse fields of interest—no technical challenges. Work 463
> categories are numbered and few. Economic resources are undeveloped to a great extent. . . . Training is limited particularly in specialized fields. . . . Poor work 461
> habits must be overcome as job and training opportunities come forth. . . . A careless attitude has built up along with the feeling of uselessness. . . .
>
> The role of the male is decaying in the home due to this feeling of uselessness. 592
> The woman has taken on an increasing role in family providing and management. The male role must be revitalized if there is to be job success. Learning skills would be an encouragement. . . .
>
> Low income is prevalent on the Reservation, particularly among Indian fami- 434
> lies. Approximately 62% of the resident Indian families have annual incomes below \$3,000.00, and the mean income is \$1,700.00. It has been estimated that approximately 3,000 persons receive some form of welfare financial assistance during part of each year. In the case of large families, the assistance standards are sometimes actually competitive with available earned income, since many local jobs, cowpunching for example, pay far below minimum standard wages. . . .

> 785 The overall picture is one of widespread economic impoverishment which in the case of many families is shared with emotional impoverishment. As is true among most people who live in chronic poverty, the poor people of the Reservation have a feeling of hopelessness and helplessness in controlling their own destiny (Blackfeet Indian Reservation—City of Browning "Model City" Application 1968: 39–41).

This must be read as a portion of a document requesting economic assistance; nevertheless, the problems are there and the solutions will not appear 657 immediately. The much-maligned councils are working on long-range programs that appear to offer promise of improvement, but they do this in the face of continuous opposition from those tribal members, both on and off the reservation, who want tribal spending cut and income distributed in per capita payments in-643 stead of being invested in industrial developments. The tribal council is severely criticized by its constituents and accused of everything from mismanagement to out-and-out graft. Some of these charges might be true, but I think it is important to note that this is a tribal body, elected by the tribal members, attempting to deal with local problems under the surveillance of local people. In this respect it is much like local governing bodies anywhere else in the United States. I think it is better for the Blackfeet to be at work solving their own problems through their elected representatives than to have these tasks turned over to either private or federal "experts" and all of the accompanying elaborate bureaucracy.

648 Overshadowing these economic and political problems and pervading all decision and debate is the concern about "termination." Termination is sometimes defined as the withdrawal of federal responsibilities for Indians, at other times as terminating the special relationship between the federal government and Indians. Its proponents usually talk about giving the Indians the full rights, privileges, and responsibilities of their citizenship. Usually these words are pronounced with less stress on "responsibilities" than on "rights" and "privileges," because the main responsibility to be gained is that of paying land and income taxes, a responsibility that has been denied the man who kept his land in trust. To most Indians termination signals the abrogation of long-standing treaties and the removal of federal protection from unfriendly and rapacious whites who "really only want to take our land away from us." Land is, perhaps, the one remaining tangible tie to the past, as well as an emotionally loaded symbol of Indian identity. Indians criticize the B.I.A. but resist its abolishment. It is the only remaining defense between them and termination, and when someone says "termination" the Indians hear "extermination."

Summary

128 The emphasis, in this chapter, has been upon the economic problems of Blackfeet readaptation following the depletion of the buffalo. The pressures put upon the people, both directly and indirectly to change other parts of their culture can be summarized now and related to the problem of the maintenance or replacement of the traditional value and prestige systems.

Values of the White-Oriented Group

The category "white-oriented" and the characteristics by which it is defined 177
in the context of the study, intimates that this group, in most respects, approxi-
mates the social structuring and culture of the American community of which 183
the reservation is a part. The values of this segment of the reservation population
are assumed to be similar to those found in a neighboring non-Indian community.
The present purpose is not to analyze thoroughly either white-oriented or American
values, but to establish that there is a similarity between the two, and to sketch
the background against which a contrasting Indian-oriented value pattern stands
out. The values can be abstracted from statements occurring repeatedly among
the interview data, and they can be compared with some American value orienta-
tion about which there is agreement.

The values expressed in the field-interview data that appear to be most
useful in separating the white-oriented from the Indian-oriented are closely related
to those that were abstracted, in Chapter 4, from the speeches of governmental
officials of the 1880s: work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness.
These are highly interrelated concepts. Work is a means by which to achieve 183
valued ends, in this case independence from others, the accumulation of property
for self-security and the security of one's immediate family. It is also an end in 461
itself. It is good to work. A man who is known as a good worker gains some [554]
prestige in the community. A white-oriented man uses these values as a measure
of others whether or not he appears to practice them himself.

Some of these valued characteristics were indicated in the economic data
gathered from my sample (McFee 1962:114–124) and some of those findings
are reviewed to show that the values are reflected in actual behavior. Only three 183
of the twenty white-oriented men were irregularly employed. Two were regularly
employed at seasonal labor, but all others had year around employment. Again, 461
the relative dependence upon family support and welfare aid appeared to be 464
significant. Twelve of the twenty received no family support, three others did, but
they were active participants in a successful family ranch or farm enterprise. Only 183
one white-oriented man reported use of welfare.[14] 461

These figures, of course, reflect the influence of other factors, such as
economic potential, relative age, education, health, and opportunity. But they are 657
related also to motivation and to the degree of commitment to the white-oriented 183
value system. The following excerpts, paraphrased from interviews with white-
oriented subjects, illustrate some of the ways these values are expressed. [177]

> I've been ranching all my life, and had to get a fee patent—they held me 183
> down. The reservation rules tied you all up. I'm independent and have trained
> the kids to be the same. I wanted to build up the ranch for the boys. Two of them 461

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[14] These and the following figures, based on the answers given by members of the sample [128]
to my questionnaire are used to indicate some trends apparent in the limited data. Because
of the small and incomplete sample it would not be safe to treat these trends as well sup-
ported generalizations about the whole population.

to the development of an increasingly viable and capable group of community 554 leaders. This is my greatest source of optimism. The Blackfeet have never lacked for active and intelligent leaders and they have had years of experience in practical politics. The heartening factor has been the trend to a broader political base, increased autonomy of decision, and the greater participation by more of the community in political and social action. With each passing generation those who have taken leadership roles have had more education and more experience with the outside world than those who preceded them. Tribal members play leading roles in national Indian organizations. They have in the past and continue to [648] serve in the state legislature and senate. There were Blackfeet at Alcatraz. More youth are going to college and some of these are talking of returning to the [873] reservation to play a part in solving local problems. The tribal council and its committees has always provided a good training ground for leadership. To this has been added the Community Action Programs and other O.E.O. sponsored 657● activities. The Browning Industrial Development Corporation and the Housing 867 Authority, both provide opportunities for leadership training and participation for more people. Some of the O.E.O. programs are reminiscent of the old C.C.C. programs that provided short range income that was a help for people when they needed it, but had few long range economic benefits. The Community Action Programs, however, appeal to me most because they are involving young and old and most of them are centered in the community. The workers involved get to know their neighbors, learn of the community problems and what resources are available to help solve them. Even youngsters out cleaning up vacant lots are doing something with their neighbors for the community. They are learning about organization and practical politics—knowledge that should stand them in good stead whatever the future brings. The faults of these programs and organizations are the faults of all of us, as are the strengths. The Blackfeet are becoming increasingly able to run their own affairs with less governmental paternalism.

That last sentence raises the very sensitive issue of termination. This is a 648 very sticky problem, too complicated to elaborate on here. I will side with those who oppose it for the following reasons. I agree with those tribal members who fear political domination by the county and state if the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between tribe and the federal government were terminated. First, land would be lost rapidly if trust restrictions were removed. It is of course every citizen's right to buy and sell his property, but too many Indian owners still are too inexperienced in financial matters to protect their own interests in even the most honest land transactions or to benefit by converting land to cash. Secondly, much reservation land would be lost if it was removed from trust status and put on the tax rolls at a time when too few Indian owners make enough money from their land to meet taxes. Thirdly, the Indians feel that the present climate of discrimination in off-reservation communities would result in loss of services, poorer services, and unfair treatment in local and state courts is present federal and tribal programs were turned over to county and state. I think their fears are well founded.

The other side of the argument has some merit too. B.I.A. programs have often been overprotective, fostering overdependency and expectations of paternal-

7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE WASHINGTON 25, D. C.
BUREAU OF MEDICAL SERVICES

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Refer to:

December 31, 1964

Mr. Earl Old Person, Chairman
Blackfeet Tribal Business Council
Blackfeet Indian Reservation
Browning, Montana

Dear Mr. Old Person:

On behalf of the Division of Indian Health and the Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense (ICNND) it is my pleasure to transmit the report of the nutrition survey of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. This survey was conducted during August and September 1961 and in the spring of 1962 by the Division and the Committee with the collaboration of the U.S. Army Medical Research and Nutrition Laboratory (located in Denver, Colorado) and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior.

In the survey an effort was made to identify the major nutritional needs and the opportunities for nutritional improvement on the Reservation. This report provides useful new scientific and practical information regarding the nutritional health of the Blackfeet Indian. It also indicates the potential contributions of further development of educational services and agricultural and industrial resources on the Reservation to the nutrition of your families.

128 The survey team wishes to express great appreciation to the many members of the Tribe who contributed so much to the success of the survey. The team is particularly indebted to the Tribal Council, the staff of the Browning Public Health Service Indian Hospital and the Bureau of Indian Affairs Reservation staff for their 121 cooperation and support in this joint endeavor. The Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense shares the concern of the Division of Indian Health for the nutritional status and over-all health of the Blackfeet Indian. The Committee will look forward to future opportunities for collaborating with the Division.

Sincerely yours,

Carruth J. Wagner, M. D.
Assistant Surgeon General
Chief, Division of Indian Health

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7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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MISSION

121 657 In response to a request by the Division of Indian Health, United States Public Health Service, and the Blackfeet Tribal Council, the Interdepartmental Committee on Nutrition for National Defense (ICNND) completed the initial phases of a nutrition survey of the Reservation during the period of 21 August-28 September 1961. The team was composed of clinicians, biochemists, nutritionists, dentists and food technologists. 114 657 Over-all support of the team was shared by the ICNND through a contractual arrangement between the National Institute of Arthritis and Metabolic Diseases (U.S. Public Health Service) and the University of Texas Medical Branch in Galveston, by the United States Army Medical Research and Nutrition Laboratory in Denver, Colorado, and the United States Public Health Service, Division of Indian Health. Support was also given by the Tribal Council and the hospital staff at Browning.

121 During the period of the survey the team activities were based at the Public Health Service Indian Hospital at Browning. The biochemical laboratory was located at Fitzsimons General Hospital in Denver. Field operations ranged to all sectors of the Reservation. In all 1,390 adults and children were examined in eight locations. Fifty-six percent of those seen were school children; 10 percent were patients seen in outpatient clinics or in the hospital; the remaining 34 percent were seen in community centers. All persons received a clinical examination and dental examination. One hundred ninety-one were given a dietary evaluation by means of an interview regarding food intake during the preceding day. Two hundred sixty-three individuals were evaluated by biochemical assessment of blood and urine levels of essential nutrients, including minerals and vitamins (see Table 1).

In the spring of 1962 a small team of individuals from the U.S. Army Medical Research and Nutrition Laboratory, Denver, Colorado, and those of the earlier team from the Reservation conducted a re-evaluation of the same population on the Blackfeet Reservation. On this occasion, dietary studies were made by home visits and biochemical samples were obtained to determine any seasonal variations in such essential factors as hematologic values, vitamin A nutriture and riboflavin status.

7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

RECOMMENDATIONS

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1. Emphasis should be placed on the development of a sound and practical nutrition education program for the Indians and for the Indian Health staff. It should be directed toward correcting: 146 657

a. the low intakes of Calories, protein, calcium, iron, vitamins A and C, and riboflavin, especially among groups under physiologic stress;

b. dental caries through periodic preventive care and increased provision of fluoride supplements to children; [164]

c. goiter through the use of iodized salt.

In-service training in nutrition should be provided for teachers, welfare workers, extension personnel, Indian Health staff and others in official or voluntary agencies who can influence the dietary practices of Indians.

2. The school lunch should provide a minimum of one-third the child's nutritional needs daily according to his age and activity. Particular attention should be given to food sources of vitamin A and ascorbic acid.

3. The food allowances for families with infants and preschool-age children should be reviewed and families assisted in procuring adequate diets for children. Dietary supplements should be provided for infants and for women during pregnancy and lactation.

4. Arrangements should be made for providing additional amounts of commodity foods to pregnant women during the last 20 weeks of pregnancy and throughout lactation.

5. The use of wild greens and fruits should be continued and encouraged.

6. A home garden program for family units, including the preservation and storage of foods, should be developed.

7. Continued and increased efforts should be utilized to improve the cattle herd management practices.

8. Agricultural credit programs with an accompanying mandatory educational and supervisory program should be expanded in order that many, although most probably not all, of the present Indian cattle herds can become a competitive economic unit. Somewhat different credit, educational and supervisory programs need to be developed in order that qualified and interested young Indian adults can obtain the financial backing required to enter the business of cattle ranching. The traditional cattle-repayment program still offers a great deal of opportunity, and considerable thought needs to be given on the part of all concerned as to how it can best be utilized under today's conditions. 657 233 128

9. Future continuing studies on seasonal changes in food intake and biochemical evidences of nutritional status at various seasons of the year are essential. Such studies could provide a sound basis for many programs: nutrition education, commodity food distribution and welfare assistance. 128 146 657

10. A longitudinal study on heights and weights of children should be initiated to determine growth patterns of the Indian children and provide for comparisons with non-Indian children. 128
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11. A re-survey of dietary intakes and nutritional status of the population should be made five years from the time of the initial survey.

RATIONALE FOR THE RECOMMENDATIONS

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Correction of the problems outlined in the Summary can be approached in several ways - education, expansion of local resources, public health measures, fuller utilization of the surplus commodity program and further study and clarification of such points as are needed.

Education

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Fundamental to any educational program is the basic provision that the talents of a given population be developed to their full capabilities in keeping with the development of a modern society. To accomplish this will require utilization of all aspects of education at the school, adult, community, medical and preventive health levels. When applied to the general area of health and particularly to the nutritional health of a population, it will be necessary to re-establish the importance of food as a prerequisite to optimal health. Consumption of food in quantity without appropriate attention to the quality and variety of nutrients to provide an adequate, balanced dietary intake is meaningless. As has been pointed out in the Summary, this study has demonstrated problems not only of quantity of food as reflected in the Calorie and protein intakes, but also of food quality in relationship to the mineral and vitamin nutriture of the population surveyed.

Initially, major attention should be directed to the education of individuals who will be providing nutrition information to the population on the Reservation. It becomes exceedingly important that there be consistency of information which is being given from a variety of sources ranging from school teachers to extension workers to physicians.

Particular emphasis from an educational point of view should be directed toward the following:

1. Dental health is dependent on periodic dental care and the preventive aspects related to adequate and sufficient oral hygiene in addition to the procurement of some source of fluoride.

2. Goiter can be essentially eliminated by the use of iodized salt.

3. Anemia can be materially alleviated by the use of iron-enriched cereal products, and supplementary amounts of this mineral should be supplied to children during the vulnerable years of infancy and preschool ages and women during the stress periods of reproduction and lactation.

4. Calcium is available in the average American diet in milk products. The use of such products should be extended among all segments of the population. During periods of physiologic stress such as pregnancy and lactation, supplemental amounts of this mineral should be provided.

5. To improve the nutriture of vitamins A and C requires a greater intake of leafy green and yellow vegetables. The 120-days growing season is more than adequate to add significant amounts of these vitamins by the planned use of

home-grown vegetables. This use should initially be for the family and not for commercial enterprises on the Reservation. The value of food preservation should be emphasized. The population should be encouraged to continue their use of wild fruits and greens which are undoubtedly adding important contributions particularly to the status of vitamin C nutriture.

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In school populations the educational program should utilize the school lunch so that at least one third of the daily recommended allowances of vitamins A and C would be contained in that noon day meal.

Major educational efforts are still required to determine ways and means to provide the necessary motivation to induce pregnant and lactating women to seek medical care early and throughout these periods of stress. Similarly, well-child clinics extending through the schools should be strengthened.

In-service training provided by State and Federal resources in the area of nutrition should be undertaken at an early date for teachers, and those representatives of the Public Health Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs who would be disseminating nutrition information.

Expansion of Local Resources

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As has been pointed out in other reports which have surveyed the agricultural and industrial potential of the Reservation, there is a potential reservoir for both nutritional and economic betterment on the Reservation. Several areas are immediately apparent, such as the development of the timber and mineral reserves as well as the potential asset of the Reservation's becoming a recreational area on a year-round rather than short summer time basis as at present.

Provisions should be made whereby there can be an expansion and increase of extension of agricultural credits for the purposes of developing economically sound units of cattle and sheep herds. There is a need for improvement of the basic herds through better breeding and selection processes. Greater utilization should be made of present irrigation facilities and plans formulated for use of those which may be developed in the future. There is need to rejuvenate and restore existing irrigation projects to their highest potential and later to expand the land acreage available through new irrigation projects.

The development of a home garden program for use of family units will initially materially reduce the problems relating to vitamins A and C nutriture. Once this is accomplished it has the economic potential of providing commodities for local markets on the Reservation and in the area.

The excellent efforts under way to improve sanitary facilities on the Reservation are highly commended. The nutritional health of the people is eminently related to the control of infectious disease. One has only to look at the most recent hospital statistics in order to see the importance of infectious, gastrointestinal and respiratory disorders to the health of the people.

Public Health Measures

121
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744
164

With the widespread prevalence and severity of gingivitis and periodontal disease among the Montana Indians, a program directed at the improvement of oral hygiene is needed urgently. A dental caries preventive program should also be initiated. One important preventive measure to include in this program should be the implementation of some form of fluoride supplementation among preschool and school children on the Reservation. This can be done either by the provision of topical applications on a periodic basis, provision of oral supplements, or through the fluoridation of community water supplies to protective levels of 1.0 part per million. The severe dental problems so common among adults point out the urgent need for full utilization of the dental care facilities and increased effort toward more comprehensive health education programs.

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In view of the status of iodine nutrition as reflected by the significant numbers of individuals with enlarged thyroid glands (goiter), families should be encouraged to use iodized salt only. Distribution centers should be encouraged to stock only the iodized form of salt on their shelves.

In view of the important contribution that enrichment of cereal and flour products can make to the dietary intake only enriched forms of these products containing iron, thiamine, riboflavin and niacin should be available. It should be mentioned that Canadian products of this nature are not enriched with these nutrients at present.

Health facilities are available for very adequate maternal and child health programs. These need to be fully utilized by the population. As a means of providing motivation in this direction as well as improving the dietary intake of individuals during physiologic stress, it is recommended that all prenatal patients during the last 20 weeks of their pregnancy and throughout the period of lactation be eligible for an extra ration of food through the surplus food commodity program provided that they are duly registered in the appropriate health facility and in regular attendance. A similar extra ration should be provided to families having children in the infant and preschool age groups. In addition to this, it is recommended that dietary supplements be provided for infants and preschool children and women during pregnancy and lactation. The level of supplementation should be in keeping with the daily recommended allowances of the National Research Council.

Surplus Commodities

It is strongly recommended that appropriate administrative groups at the local, State and Federal levels re-examine the surplus commodity food distribution program as it applies on the Reservation. This portion of food contributes a significant amount to the total dietary intake of this population. It is suggested that standards of eligibility and bases of priority be established to look after the needs of particularly vulnerable groups in regard to their total health needs. Pregnant and lactating women should be given additional amounts of milk in order to provide for the increased demand for calcium and protein which is now seriously lacking in the diet. During pregnancy

and lactation as well as for children in their preschool years, the possibility 121
of an extra portion of a ration being available to these groups should be considered. 657

146 The yearly pattern of foods available and actually distributed should be maintained on a current basis so that maximal utilization of their nutritional potential can be developed. This will require the assistance of qualified individuals in the nutritional and home economic fields from local, State, or Federal resources.

Areas for Further Study 121

Because of the evidence of marked seasonal variation in food availability and intake, it is strongly recommended that future continuing studies on the changes in food intake and biochemical evidences of nutritional status be made at the various seasons of the year. Such studies could serve to provide a sound basis for adaptation of commodity distribution programs to the nutritional needs of the people. They also would point out the particular seasonal problems in food utilization that may be remedied by nutrition education procedures.

In view of the borderline intakes of Calories in some segments of the population studied it would be of interest to measure heights and weights of a representative sample of infants and children through the school years to compare growth of this population with that of other North American children of the same age. This might be accomplished on a monthly or bi-monthly basis during regular attendance at well-child clinics of infants and preschool children. It should be made part of the seasonal studies discussed above.

A re-survey of dietary intakes and nutritional status of this population should be made in five years from the time of the initial survey.

7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NP6 Blackfoot NP6
Piegan
Montana

FIGURE I. **BILLINGS AREA**

DIVISION OF INDIAN HEALTH

MONTANA

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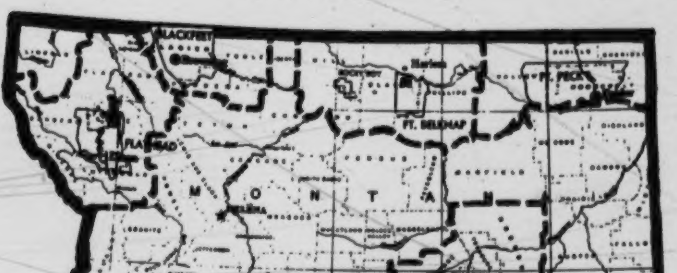
102


BLACKFEET
FT. PECK
FT. BELKNAP
FLATHEAD
M O N T A N A
CROW
WIND RIVER
W Y O M I N G
CHEYENNE
LEGEND
■ AREA OFFICE
▬ INDIAN RESERVATIONS
● PHS INDIAN HOSPITALS
○ PHS HEALTH CENTERS
◉ PHS BOARDING SCHOOL CLINICS
✱ STATE CAPITOLS
— — SERVICE UNIT BOUNDARIES

IV

AGRICULTURE, ECONOMICS AND EDUCATION 657

The Blackfeet Indian Reservation, an area of 1,525,671 acres, located principally in Glacier County, Montana, is the home of some excellent ranching and farming operations. The Reservation is a block of land, approximately 52 by 58 miles, at the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. Its northern boundary is the United States-Canada line (see Map, Figure 2). 131 310

The headquarters of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation is Browning, Montana, a city with a population of approximately 3,000. The Reservation has long been noted for its excellent grasses. The dominant grass species are blue grama, western wheat grass, green needle, fescues and June grass. 361 632 162

Population 137

Figures purporting to show Blackfeet Indian population vary slightly, but those listed below are taken from "The Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, Application for Loan - 1960" to the United States Government and are believed to be substantially correct. 127 161

TABLE 5. TOTAL POPULATION, BLACKFEET INDIAN TRIBE 161 162

	Total	Living Off Reservation	Living On Reservation
Blackfeet Indians	8,456	3,606	4,850
Average Family Size	4.3		

TABLE 6. BLACKFEET INDIAN LABOR FORCE 162

Male Skilled or semiskilled	Unskilled	Female Skilled or semiskilled
800	700	300

Road System 491

U.S. Highway 89 is the principal north-south highway while U.S. highway 2 is the principal east-west route which traverse and service the Blackfeet Indian Reservation. In addition to the above, there is a total of 240 miles of primary (160) and secondary (80) roads on the Reservation.

Utilities 377

Electricity is supplied from the Fort Peck Dam, and this supply is integrated into the northwest power pool. Electricity is not a limiting factor on the Reservation from the viewpoint of agricultural production.

Elevation

Approximately 95 percent of the Reservation lies between 3,500 feet and 4,500 feet elevation, the average figure being nearer 4,500 than 3,500 feet. 133

Soils

The basic soil is a loam and clay loam glacier moraine. Its native fertility and its productiveness vary quite widely. In general, where erosion has not been severe, the soils would be considered to be relatively fertile soils. 134

Land Ownership

The historical development of Blackfeet Indian land ownership is described in several interesting and lengthy treatises, such as "The Blackfeet" by John C. Ewers, "The Early Blackfeet and Their Neighbors" by George E. Hyde, and numerous U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs official documents (1, 2, 3). Present ownership and use are presented in Tables 9, 10, 11 and 12. 127 423 659

TABLE 9. BLACKFEET INDIAN LAND OWNERSHIP
(1 February 1960)

	Acres
Allotted land	836,754.52
Alienated land	530,391.19
Tribal land in trust	144,506.29
Submarginal land	9,037.00
U.S. Reclamation Reserve	947.00
Agency Reserve	4,035.00
Total	1,525,671.00

TABLE 10. BLACKFEET INDIAN LAND USE
(1 February 1960) 311

Land use	Acres
Grazing	779,523.00
Irrigated	23,860.00
Dry land farming	82,000.00
Alienated	530,391.00
All other	109,897.00
Total	1,525,671.00

TABLE 11. BLACKFEET INDIAN GRAZING LAND

311
427
127

	Total acres leased	No. of lessors	Average acreage leased
Indian	400,000	150	2,666
Non-Indian	380,000	75	5,067

TABLE 12. BLACKFEET INDIAN FARM LAND

	Total acres leased	No. of lessors	Average acreage leased
Indian	8,000	40	200
Non-Indian	98,000	175	560

Productive Assets

175
178
657

In 1900, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs included in his Annual Report the material which is presented in Table 13.

TABLE 13. CHARACTERIZATION OF INDIANS IN 1886 AND 1900

	1886	1900
Number of Indians who can read	18	900
Horses and mules owned	1,205	22,004
Cattle owned	Zero	12,000
Acres cultivated	12	500
Bushels of oats, barley and rye harvested	30	700
Bushels of vegetables harvested	100	3,700
Tons of hay cut	170	6,000

212
231
241
433

In December 1956, a rather detailed inventory was made by the Blackfeet Tribe of productive assets of the Blackfeet Indians living on the Reservation. This information is presented in Tables 14 and 15. Similar data for Glacier County, Montana, in which the Reservation is largely located, are presented in Tables 16-20.

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TABLE 15. BLACKFEET INDIAN "PRODUCTIVE ASSETS" - TIMBER
(December 1956)

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Timber Stands

Species	Board feet
Lodgepole pine	29,121,000
Spruce	19,804,000
Douglas fir	6,780,000
Alpine	2,268,000
Net total annual increment	743,000

The most common source of agricultural credit is the Bureau of Indian Affairs, through the Agency Credit Officer. The funds are several and are earmarked for certain kinds of uses. In each case, the total amount available is relatively small. The 1960 application for a $1,000,000 agricultural production loan to the Blackfeet Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation was approved, but at the time of the study only $100,000 had been implemented. At that time, five loan applications were being processed to cover the leased $100,000. 657 652

The repayment cattle enterprise (sheep excluded) is of special interest. The program is of long standing and involves paying back to the Tribe one heifer for each ten heifers originally received, the payment to be made within a ten-year period. For each bull that is received, three heifers must be repaid during the ten-year period. The customary ratio is one bull for each twenty-five cows. The title to the "repayment cattle" belongs to the U.S. Government until repayment is made. These cattle are not carried as property on an individual's tax assessment. 652 233 651

The official agreement covering the cattle repayment program expired in 1963. There was apparently some opposition to its being continued because of its "failure to teach business."

Education

The Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1961, included in its report a section on "Education." This section is reproduced in the "Annual Report of Indian Education in Montana" and is especially recommended for reading to all who are associated with Indians or Indian problems. The statistics covering the elementary and secondary education of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are presented in Tables 22, 23 and 24. 657 811

TABLE 22. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61 871 872 177

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Babb #8	None	None
Browning #9	915	758
Cut Bank #15	886	115
East Glacier #50	73	38
Little Badger #50	21	21
Total	1,895	932

TABLE 23. HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61 871 823 177

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Browning #9	231	173
Cut Bank #15	360	19
Total	591	192

TABLE 24. FUNDING OF BLACKFEET INDIAN SCHOOLS, 1960-61 871 657

Number of meals served indigent Blackfeet Indian children	93,639
Federal funds distributed to schools on the Blackfeet Reservation	$192,078
Montana reimbursements to schools for lunches	$ 24,994

Data upon the total number of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Reservation who are attending college are not available. The number, however, is known to be quite small. "Indian Scholarships" from the State of Montana, in a limited number, are available for Indian students attending Montana state-supported schools of higher education. The number of Blackfeet Indian students who are recipients of the above scholarships totals nine. 871 823

The number of Blackfeet Indians who are enrolled in college correspondence courses or otherwise pursuing their post-high school education is also unknown, but it is believed that the number is quite small.

Observations 179 657

The Blackfeet Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Blackfeet Tribal Council have, through the years, developed many programs to assist the agricultural development of the Reservation. Their accomplishments have been great, but much yet remains to be done.

1. The agricultural economic alternatives for the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are a great deal more limited than those existing for certain other areas in the United States. The Reservation, however, does possess certain natural advantages (excellent range land and irrigation water) which give it the potential, presently not fully utilized, of being competitively highly successful in livestock production and in dry-land small grain production. In this connection, Bulletins 522, 542 and 535 of the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station are required reading for anyone seriously interested in Blackfeet Indian agriculture. 179 433 [654]

2. Relatively few Blackfeet Indians are presently interested in dry-land small grain production. It is estimated that 90 percent of the wheat and barley produced on the Reservation is raised by non-Indians. 433 243 563

3. The Blackfeet Indians are very interested in competitive, commercial livestock production. 433 233

4. It is well recognized by individual Blackfeet Indians, the Blackfeet Tribal Council, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Montana State College that, under existing conditions, a herd of 150 cattle is the minimum number to form a competitive economic unit.

5. Securing adequate financing for an economic herd of cattle is a serious, limiting factor in the development of cattle ranching by the Blackfeet Indians.

In contrast, the family dietary studies reported for a period of one week in the autumn and one week in the spring (see below) showed Calories to be adequate for all but a few of the families. In several families caloric intakes were excessively high. This is not surprising, for the willingness of the families to participate in the study was a selective factor. Moreover, the degree of accuracy of the figures is again questionable since the amount of fat in each cut of meat and the amount of fat drippings saved for later use, or possibly discarded, could not be determined. 146 128

The actual amount of fat used, and consequently the true caloric intake, was probably somewhere between the low intake reported in the 24-hour individual recall records and the high intake estimated for the family groups. It was evident at the time of the individual interviews, however, that smaller amounts of food were consumed by women of childbearing age and men under 45 years of age, as indicated above. This is supported by the low percentage of all nutrients consumed in relation to the recommended allowances.

Comments

The eminently satisfactory protein and riboflavin intakes of 10-12 year old males and females and of 13-15 year old females is of particular interest. It is a well established fact that the amount of food consumed by children participating in the school lunch programs throughout the United States is greater in the early fall than at any other time during the school year (see also Appendix 4). 146 657 128

The distribution of commodity foods occurred while the survey was in process. The dietary records obtained prior to distribution, therefore, provided an indication of family dietaries when the supply of donated foods was exhausted. The dietary records collected following the distribution of commodity foods reflected the use of most of the foods provided. Appendix Table 5 shows the amount of donated foods distributed during 1961 and 1962. It is reported that the food allocated to each family is completely consumed by the middle of the month.

Vitamin supplementation was reported by 18 persons, 10 of whom were pregnant women, 4 other adults and 4 children. Of the adults and children 3 were females. No information was available as to type of capsule or regularity of use. 146 128

Family Food Study

124

Procedure

A random sample of families on the Reservation was selected in order to obtain records of foods used over a period of one week in the fall and one week in the spring. Ninety-four families participated in the study in the fall and 83 families took part in the spring. Eleven of the families included in the spring survey were not involved in the autumn survey.

Discussion

Indian families do not normally waste food nor do they have storage 261
facilities which will permit them to purchase large quantities of food at one 251
time, for future use. Selection of certain types of food can be traced historically to preferences developed over a period of years as a result of the 262
kinds of food available or distributed to them, to home food production practices and to the level of the economy. These factors have undoubtedly been 261
responsible for influencing the present preference for certain types of foods. There appears to be little knowledge on the part of the Indians of the nutritive value of food and the relationship of the nutritive quality of the diet to the possible level of health which can be achieved.

Similarity between dietary practices of families is to be expected since communities found on the Reservation are rural and somewhat isolated. The cultural background (hunters), natural and economic resources vary little among the families as does the degree of understanding of the many factors
essential for the maintenance of good health. The distribution of commodity 657
foods appears to have made valuable contributions to the diets. The tribe
also received buffalo and elk from Glacier Park and some elk from Yellowstone 146
Park.

Recommendations 121

1. That an extensive and practical educational program be conducted through all possible channels on the Reservation with particular emphasis on the use of foods which are good sources of vitamin A or carotene and ascorbic acid.

2. That particular emphasis be placed on ways of improving the diets of women between the ages of 20 and 44 years with special attention given to pregnant and lactating women.

3. That school lunch programs be encouraged to provide extra amounts of ascorbic acid foods and vitamin A-type foods.

4. That emphasis be placed on ways of utilizing commodity foods which will assure a larger amount of calcium in the diets of family members of all ages.

5. That a re-survey of dietary practices and nutritional status be made in five years.

Description of the Sample 125

A total of 1,342 individuals was examined during the nutrition survey (Table 33). Fourteen and two-tenths percent (190) were less than 5 years of age and were examined according to the special pediatric protocol. Seven-hundred seventy-nine (58.0 percent) were between the ages of 5 and 15. Most of this group were examined in their schools; two-hundred and fifty-five (19.0 percent) were adults between the ages of 14 and 45 years and 127 (9.5 percent)

APPENDIX TABLE 5. COMMODITIES DISTRIBUTED, BLACKFEET RESERVATION

		1961										
		Flour	Cornmeal	Eggs	Milk	Lard	Butter	Rice	Beans	Pork and gravy	Oatmeal	Peanut butter
		(pounds)			(pounds)						(pounds)	
Month	Individuals receiving	(10)	(10)		(4½)	(1 or 2)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(30½ oz)	(3)	(2 or 3)
January	4,578	3,431	2,043	1,981	1,188	2,469	3,299	--	4,000	--	--	--
February	4,850	3,599	159	2,095	1,286	2,570 1/	3,517	--	--	--	--	--
March	4,786	3,643	2,203	2,072	1,272	2,622 1/	3,516	4,155	--	--	--	--
April	5,002	3,851	--	2,193	1,395	2,740 1/	3,729	4,386	--	5,247	--	--
May	4,949	3,823	2,479	2,208	1,417	2,774	3,695	4,384	--	6,793	2,072	--
June	5,087	3,876	2,418	2,209	1,390	2,798 1/	3,751	4,236	4,629	6,900	1,232	1,324 2/
July	4,663	3,669	2,372	2,209	1,388	2,801 1/	3,748	4,407	4,638	6,960	--	599 2/
August	4,987	3,699	1,585	2,197	1,359	2,715 1/	3,635	4,737	4,517	6,757	--	480 2/
September	5,173	5,093	2,486	2,265	1,420	4,412 1/	3,771	2,513	4,656	6,961	2,124	1,715 3/
October	5,017	4,895	2,339	1,081	--	3,593	3,693	2,436	4,519	5,988	1,412	687 3/
November	4,712	4,518	1,213	3,556	1,838	3,500	3,894	4,457	2,170	4,641	1,274	1,142
December	4,931	4,739	--	2,449	1,902	3,667	4,074	4,556	2,135	4,829	1,507	1,407

1/ 1 pound.
2/ 3 pounds.
3/ 2 pounds.

APPENDIX TABLE 3 (continued) COMMODITIES DISTRIBUTED, BLACKFEET RESERVATION

Month	Individuals receiving	1962										
		Flour	Cornmeal	Milk	Lard	Butter	Rice	Beans	Pork and gravy	Peanut butter	Rolled wheat	Cheese
		(pounds)								(pounds)		
		(10)	(10)	(4½)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(30½ oz)	(2 or 3)	(3)	(5)
January	5,014	4,835	4,031	1,932	3,734	4,169	4,613	2,232	4,903	1,392	--	--
February	5,236	4,976	3,503	3,783	2,490	4,275	4,690	4,823	5,169	861	--	--
March	5,846	5,041	--	2,222	2,366	4,920	4,669	5,222	5,296	--	1,279	1,235
April	5,292	4,914	--	2,400	2,518	4,820	4,612	5,070	5,185	1,593	1,637	1,365
May	5,220	4,745	--	2,348	2,459	4,734	4,232	4,859	5,046	1,391	1,629	1,026
June	5,070	4,672	--	2,367	2,366	257	4,188	3,868	4,900	1,417	1,555	1,032
July	5,566	5,015	--	2,668	3,993	4,915	4,525	--	5,317	1,426	1,592	1,583
August	4,070	3,842	--	1,990	3,786	3,631	3,503	3,868	3,959	1,130	--	1,133
September	4,372	4,050	--	2,003	4,023	3,833	3,589	--	4,167	1,182	1,407	1,186
October	4,067	3,065	--	1,838	3,873	3,686	3,309	3,849	4,006	1,145	1,183	1,117
November	4,134	3,880	--	1,986	3,921	3,738	3,309	3,867	3,779	1,100	1,237	1,151
December	4,352	4,102	--	1,684	4,131	3,931	3,482	3,949	4,267	1,203	1,273	1,203

7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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[ca. 1850-1875]

13: Life with Our Father

648 AT THE GREAT treaty council in the fall of 1855, Governor
651 Stevens told the Blackfoot tribes, "The Great Father has sent an agent to live at the Forts above who will be your Father. When you have any trouble, go to him as you would go to your Father."[1] His Indian listeners took him at his word. To this day elderly Blackfoot men and women who speak little or no English call their agent *ninnàna*, "Our Father." They refer to his place of business as "Our Father's House."

Among the fur traders and other whites the early agents commonly
657 were addressed by the honorary title of "Major." The first Blackfoot agent, Major Edwin A. C. Hatch from Minnesota, was presented to the Indians at the treaty council in mid-October, 1855. Shortly thereafter he established the first agency for his "children" at the fur trading post of Fort Benton.

Major Hatch's two most noteworthy achievements appear to have been the giving of a large ball for the traders at the fort on New Year's Eve, which was so successful that it lasted through the next day and night, and the management of the distribution of the first annuities paid the four tribes under the terms of the treaty eight months later. During most of the intervening period he could not discuss the Indians' troubles with them for the simple reason that he was not in the Blackfoot country. On February 6, 1856, Hatch started downriver to Fort Union to await the arrival of annuities from St. Louis. He did not return

[1] Partoll (ed.), *Blackfoot Indian Peace Council*, 9.

[ca. 1850-1875]

to Fort Benton until mid-August. In his diary he laconically 657 described the most important action of his administration, the payment of annuities to the Indians at the mouth of the Judith in late September.

> Sept. 22. Beautiful morning.—Recd. the goods and distributed nearly all of them—shall finish in the morning—every thing went off quickly—about 8000 Indians present.
>
> Sept. 23. Fine morning—closed with the Indians—said good bye—and we were off at five minutes of 11 o'clock.[2]

Major Hatch's first and only annual report was written from Fort Union, July 12, 1856. He had been father to the Blackfoot tribes for nine months, but he had not seen his children for five of them. As a result his report contained no recent information on either the condition or disposition of his charges. Nevertheless, 721 it did substantiate the fears of the Blood head chief, Seen-From-Afar, which he had expressed at the treaty council, that he could not prevent his young warriors from going to war against the Crow Indians. Hatch reported that less than ten days after the treaty was signed a war party of Blood Indians departed for the Crow camps. Many others followed. In early February the Blood chiefs told the Major that their young men had supposed the Crows were not included in the peace treaty. Yet Hatch learned that Blood warriors passed through the Gros Ventre and Piegan camps on their way to the enemy, and "when they found the young men of those tribes did not join them, ridiculed them for listening to the advice of the whites." The agent reported that the Blood warriors "stole a few horses, destroyed one lodge of Crows, and killed five Assiniboines." He 648 urged that every individual who had led a war party be arrested and punished by United States troops.[3]

Major Hatch's superior, Colonel Cumming, the superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis, must have regarded this proposal

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[2] E. A. C. Hatch, Diary, June 7–October 15, 1856, typescript copy in Montana State Historical Society Library.

[3] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1856, 75–76.

648 of a green Indian agent to send troops hundreds of miles into the wilderness to punish a handful of Indian horse raiders as ridiculous. He had much more important worries on his mind. Cumming knew that hostile Sioux parties were roaming the Oregon Trail and that a full-scale Indian war was raging in Washington Territory. In his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on September 25, Cumming expressed gratification that the tribes party to the Blackfoot treaty had been at peace, and he was relieved that these warlike people had refused all participation in the hostilities of the tribes of Oregon and Washington.[4]

● 657 The following year the Blackfoot tribes gained a new father, Major Alfred J. Vaughan. The fur trader Charles Larpenteur described Vaughan thusly:

> A jovial old fellow, who had a very fine paunch for brandy, and, when he could not get brandy, would take almost anything which would make him drunk. He was one who remained most of his time with his Indians, but what accounts for that is the fact that he had a pretty young squaw for a wife; and as he received many favors from the [American Fur] Company, his reports must have been in their favor.[5]

Larpenteur's characterization should be taken with more than one grain of salt. It was his habit to damn virtually all Indian agents and some very able fur traders as drunkards. As for Vaughan's favoring the fur traders—it simply was not true. On the contrary, in his annual report of 1858 he went so far as to recommend the prohibition of trade in buffalo robes to prevent the ruthless slaughtering of more buffalo than the Indians needed for their subsistence.[6] Had such a prohibition been put into effect, it would have ruined the American Fur Company's business in the entire Upper Missouri region.

Actually, Major Vaughan was an experienced and able agent who conscientiously tried to implement the government's policies

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[4] *Ibid.*, 66.

[5] *Forty Years a Fur Trader*, II, 417–18.

[6] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858, 83.

for the civilization of his Indian charges. Vaughan had served 657
for fifteen years in the Indian Service. He had been agent to the Upper Missouri tribes since 1852 and knew a great deal about the Assiniboins, Crows, and Western Sioux from intimate contacts with them during that period. Ten days before his departure from St. Louis to become father to the Blackfoot tribes, on May 30, 1857, Vaughan wrote Father De Smet urging him to establish a mission among the Blackfeet which would advance the interests of the government and those of the Indians at the same time. Although Vaughan was a Protestant, he expressed the belief that "Catholic missionaries have always succeeded in gaining the Indians' hearts, in controlling their brutal outbreaks and ameliorating their condition in every respect."[7] 657 797

Although Vaughan by no means limited his activity to the distribution of the government's bounty among the Indians, he paid strict attention to the practical problems of distributing the annuities equitably and of suggesting substitutions in annuity goods to eliminate useless items and provide ones which would be more appreciated by the Indians. Shortly after he reached the Blackfoot country, he consulted with the Gros Ventre and Blood tribes and found that they cared little about the coffee furnished them and would prefer corn to rice. 657

When the annuities arrived in 1858, Vaughan employed a simple but ingenious method of assuring their fair distribution among the multitude of Indians who assembled to receive them:

> Having first ascertained the exact number of lodges by a bundle of sticks given me at my own request by the head men of the band, each stick indicating a lodge or family, I placed the representatives of the various lodges in a large circle, the presents to be distributed forming its centre. To each individual in this circle or ring was given in turn his just and due proportion, as nearly as the nature of the goods would permit, of every article of merchandise sent to the agency.[8]

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[7] De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels*, IV, 1317.

[8] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858, 77.

65] To simplify distribution of the goods in the future, Major Vaughan recommended that the contractors divide the whole quantity of each and every article into four parts—40 per cent for the Piegans, 25 per cent for the Bloods, 22 per cent for the Gros Ventres, and 13 per cent for the Northern Blackfeet. These proportions were based upon his count of the number of lodges in each of the four tribes.

Of what did these annuities consist? The list of annuities for the year 1858, distributed to the Piegan tribe (with a population of 460 lodges), reveals a considerable quantity and wide variety of goods. Of foodstuffs it included 10,000 pounds of flour, 57,000 pounds of rice, 7,600 pounds of sugar, 7,400 pounds of pilot bread, and 2,500 pounds of coffee. Among the many articles of cloth were 401 pairs of blankets, 2,280 yards of calico, 2,967 yards of checked, striped, and plaid material, 500 yards of flannel, and 152 flannel shirts. For the craftworkers there were 128 pounds of black and white beads, 84 pounds of ruby and blue beads, 4 gross squaw awls, and 25 pounds of linen thread. Household utensils included 9 dozen tin cups, 119 pounds of brass kettles, 26 dozen two-quart pans, 36 dozen butcher knives, 138 dozen frying pans, and 7 dozen fire steels. Toilet articles and cosmetics included 37 dozen combs, 10 dozen zinc mirrors, and 201 pounds of vermilion for face painting. Of tools there were 8 dozen files and 7 dozen half-axes. The quantity of weapons alone was impressive—108 Northwest guns (each valued at $6.50), 1,300 gun flints, 16 kegs of powder, 29 bags of bullets, more than 7 dozen powder horns, and 400 pounds of hoop iron for making arrowheads. In addition, the annuities included such odd items as 13 gross fish hooks and 23 dozen fish lines. And last, but not least appreciated, there were 2,660 pounds of tobacco.[9]

Major Vaughan found some of the items included in the Indians annuities very impractical. He recommended that flour be substituted for the pilot bread, which had become quite stale during its two months' journey up the Missouri, and that the amount of coffee, a drink little desired by the Blackfeet at that

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[9] Annuities paid to the Piegans, August 28, 1858, Indian Office Records.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850-1875]

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time, be reduced by one-half. He found the calico too flimsy to be useful, the American vermilion so inferior to Chinese vermilion that a far smaller quantity of the latter would be preferred. As for the fish hooks, combs, mirrors, and thread—the Blackfeet had no use for them whatever. He requested that the government send in their stead shirts, bed ticking, more powder and ball, one-point blankets, and about three dozen plain substantial saddles for the chiefs.[10] Probably in answer to his last request, "Eight Spanish Saddles" were included in the annuities for the Blackfoot tribes in 1860.[11]

Impractical as were the foods, sleazy as were the fabrics, cheap as was the hardware, and useless as were the fish hooks, most of the Indians looked forward each year to receiving their presents from the Great White Father with as keen anticipation as children awaiting the arrival of Christmas. Thousands of Indians were on hand to greet the arrival of the keelboats bearing their annuities upriver from Fort Union. They knew they could turn over the strange foods and other articles for which they had no real need to their "white brothers-in-law" (white men married to Indian women) at Fort Benton, and ride off to hunt buffalo—their traditional source of good meat and of basic materials for making scores of useful objects.

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During his first year among the Blackfeet, Major Vaughan examined the valley of the Missouri and its tributaries, searching for the most promising site for the farm which was guaranteed the Indians by the 1855 treaty. With the advice of Father Hoecken and Major John Owen, whose years of experience among the Flathead Indian farmers west of the Rockies qualified them as the best agricultural experts in the region, he selected a site on Sun River some fifteen miles above its mouth. There the valley was a half-mile wide and the alluvial soil was rich and deep. Vaughan was "determined to spare neither labor nor expense to test fully its adaptation for farming." Yet he recognized that "the

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[10] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858, 82.

[11] Annuities for the use of the Indians of the Blackfoot Agency, received in St. Louis, May 3, 1860. Indian Office Records.

[ca. 1850-1875]

657 climate and the shortness of the season" might prove a "draw-
241 back to at least partial success in our undertaking."[12]

The 1859 crop was a keen disappointment, damaged by a prolonged drought. But the next year the Major became lyrical over the success of his farming experiment. Wheat "as fine as ever was raised in any State," and "the best Indian corn and vegetables of all kinds and varieties in profusion" proved "the fertility and productiveness of the soil beyond all cavil and doubt forever."[13] To guard against future crop failures because of drought, Vaughan requested $2,500 to enable him to irrigate the farm. He also asked for $10,000 worth of cattle, believing that "the Sun River valley [was] unsurpassed as a grazing country."[14]

It was one thing to demonstrate that farming was possible in the Blackfoot country and quite another to induce the nomadic Indians to take a hand at it. However, Little Dog, the Piegan head chief, appeared interested in Vaughan's experiment. Believing that Little Dog's example would have a powerful influence upon his people, Vaughan decided to open and cultivate a small farm for him a few miles distant from the government one.[15]

648 In his enthusiasm for reporting the progress of his children
toward civilization, Major Vaughan claimed that the dread
Blackfeet had "become the most peaceful nation on the Mis-
648 souri." This was hardly true. Small parties of Blackfoot warriors
721 raided as far south as the Sioux, Arapaho, and Cheyenne camps
on the Platte in 1857. The next year a large force of Northern
Blackfeet fought a series of engagements with the Kutenais both
east and west of the Rockies.[16]

648 Nevertheless, Little Dog, who had succeeded Lame Bull as head chief of the Piegans, tried conscientiously to live up to his promise of peace with neighboring tribes made at "Lame Bull's Treaty." In the spring or summer of 1856 he and members of

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[12] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858, 78–79.

[13] *Ibid.*, 1860, 83–84.

[14] *Ibid.*, 83.

[15] *Ibid.*, 83.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1858, 95; William T. Hamilton, "A Trading Expedition Among the Indians in 1858," Montana Historical Society *Contributions*, Vol. III, 77–112.

his family paid a friendly visit to the Flatheads beyond the 648 Rockies. As they approached the Flathead camp, they unfurled an American flag to show their peaceful intentions. Two years later he made peace with the River Crows, and that fall two chiefs of the Crow Indians led a group of their people to Little Dog's camp to trade and hunt buffalo with their Piegan friends.[17]

It was much easier for Indian chiefs to negotiate a peace than it was for them to get their ambitious young warriors to keep it. In 1858 a group of "Blackfeet" met the Plains Crees on the North Saskatchewan to arrange a peace. Soon after negotiations were 721 satisfactorily completed and the tribes went their separate ways, some young Cree braves could not resist the temptation to steal Blackfoot horses. The Blackfeet pursued them, killed one Cree, and captured two others. They stripped their captives, tied their 727 hands behind their backs, bored holes in their wrists, and inserted sticks so tightly into the holes that they could not separate their arms. Then they turned the captives loose. Only one of these mutilated men reached his own camp.[18]

In the Indian country where the white population was limited 657 to a few fur traders, the Indian agent, his interpreter, and the government farmers, Vaughan found it very difficult to impress 177 upon his children the power and the character of the white man's civilization. It was not surprising that the Blackfeet regarded themselves as numerous and strong and the whites as few and feeble, or that they said to the Major, "If the whites are so numerous, why is it the same ones come back to this country year after year, with rarely an exception?" To remedy this situation, Vaughan recommended that parties of fifteen or twenty headmen and chiefs be taken on a visit to the East each year for five years, "to impress the Indian with a proper view of the strength and importance of the white man, and create in him a desire to cultivate the pacific arts and sciences."[19] Indian junkets to Wash-

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[17] *Ibid.*, 6-64; De Smet, *Life, Letters and Travels*, IV, 1247.

[18] Henry Youle Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857 and the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition of 1858*, II, 126.

[19] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1858, 119-20.

657 177 ington had been common policy for many years, but never before had Indians from so great a distance made the long trek east to see the Great White Father, nor on so great a scale as Vaughan suggested. This recommendation, like his request for cattle, died in the office of the commissioner of Indian Affairs.

797 Vaughan was pleased when, in 1859, the Jesuits accepted his long-standing invitation to establish a mission among the Blackfeet. That summer Father Hoecken and Brother Magri traveled with the Indians. Then they built three log cabins on the Teton River near present Choteau, where they spent the winter studying the Blackfoot language and catechizing some Indian children from the winter camps near by.[20]

648 The Major was pleased also when the first steamboat ever to reach Fort Benton, in the summer of 1860, carried three hundred uniformed soldiers of the United States. This first large body of soldiers to reach the Blackfoot country merely passed through it. From Fort Benton they proceeded westward over the Rockies, following the newly located Mullen Wagon Road. Nevertheless, Vaughan believed the sight of so many troopers would cause the Indians to "respect and fear the government accordingly."[21]

657 When the Civil War broke out during the next year, Major Vaughan had to be replaced. Vaughan was a Virginian, and there was no place in the government service for a potential southern sympathizer. It was a long time before the Blackfoot Indians received another "father" who was as sincere, able, and experienced as Major Vaughan, who, at the age of sixty, left the Blackfoot country. Eight years later he returned to help the government make treaties with the Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, and Crows.

657 177 Under the "fatherhood" of Major Vaughan (1857-61), the Blackfeet made no great strides toward the civilization which Governor Stevens had so glibly prophesied for them. Vaughan had seen to it that they received the annuities promised them under the terms of the treaty, had shown them that crops could be grown in their country, and had encouraged them to try farm-

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[20] William N. Bischoff, *The Jesuits in Old Oregon*, 86-87.

[21] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1860, 83.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1850-1875]

ing. But the Blackfeet were in no hurry to forsake the excitement of the buffalo hunt for the monotony of tilling the soil. He had counseled peace with neighboring tribes, but ambitious young men continued to organize frequent small raiding parties. No attempt had been made to establish schools for the Blackfeet. Nevertheless, this agent's conscientious efforts to implement the government's policy and to show the Indians the white man's way were not in vain. He had won one important convert. Little Dog, head chief of the Piegans, had employed his influence as a peacemaker and had become the first Blackfoot Indian to try the farmer's life. However, converts to the cause of intertribal peace and the farming life were proving as difficult to obtain as were the missionaries' converts to Christianity—and for precisely the same reason. The Blackfoot Indians felt no real need for the government's program. They were happy with their traditional way of life. 657 177

[ca. 1860-1870]

14: Massacre on the Marias

648 MANY FACTORS contributed to the unrest that prevailed in the Blackfoot country during the 1860's. Certainly a major underlying cause was the Civil War. Of necessity, the problems involved in the pacification and civilization of western Indian tribes were of secondary importance to the complicated problems of prosecuting and winning a bloody war that divided the nation. During the war period the most able government administrators were absorbed in the war effort. 657 Although the Blackfoot Indians were not entirely neglected by the Great White Father, his field representatives among them were weak, inept men who had little experience in Indian affairs. During a period of eighteen months they had no agent at all. Of Gad E. Upson, whom the Blackfeet called "Our Father" for two years after October, 1863, the outspoken old Indian trader William T. Hamilton scornfully wrote, "He knew as much about an Indian as I did about the inhabitants of Jupiter."[1]

177 It was another misfortune for the Indians that gold was discovered at Bannack during this period of national crisis and weakness in Indian administration. In the summer of 1862 the call of gold was attracting white men westward, through the Blackfoot country to the newly discovered mining area along the eastern base of the Rockies. Blackfoot chiefs, who only a few years before had doubted the numbers of the whites, began to complain to Agent Henry Reed of so many white men moving

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[1] "The Council at Fort Benton," *Forest and Stream*, Vol. LXVIII, No. 17, 649.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

/ca. 1860-1870/

through their country "lest there might be some design of getting their lands from them, which they could not consent to, as this had been their home as well as that of their fathers, and they hoped to make it the place of their graves and the home of their children." Reed tried to calm their fears by assuring them that "there was no such intention on the part of the Great White Father; that the whites now had by far more land than they could cultivate or knew what to do with."[2] 177

In his report to Washington, Reed expressed surprise that there had as yet been no troubles between the Indians and the large numbers of whites who were passing through their country from Fort Benton to the diggings, especially since there were "not a few" white men who would not "be tolerated in any civilized society." To keep the peace and to prevent the trade of intoxicating liquor to the Indians, Reed recommended that at least one or two companies of United States soldiers be stationed at Fort Benton.[3]

As for Major Vaughan's pride and joy, the Blackfoot farm, Reed considered it of no practical value to the Indians whatever. He noted that even Little Dog, feeling insecure on his eight- or ten-acre farm several miles from the agency farm, had returned to the nomadic camps of his people.[4] 241

In the year 1863 neither agent nor annuities reached the Blackfoot country. Low water prevented the steamboat carrying the Blackfoot annuities from moving upriver beyond Fort Union. The Sioux were on the warpath. Faint-hearted Major Reed left the annuities at Fort Union, sent letters to his Indian children by some more courageous men who were traveling to Fort Benton on horseback, boarded the steamboat bound down the Missouri, and wrote his annual report from the safety of his home in Epworth, Iowa, more than one thousand miles from his field station.[5] 657

Needless to say, Henry Reed's days as Blackfoot agent were

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[2] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1863, 179.

[3] *Ibid.*, 180.

[4] *Ibid.*, 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, 172.

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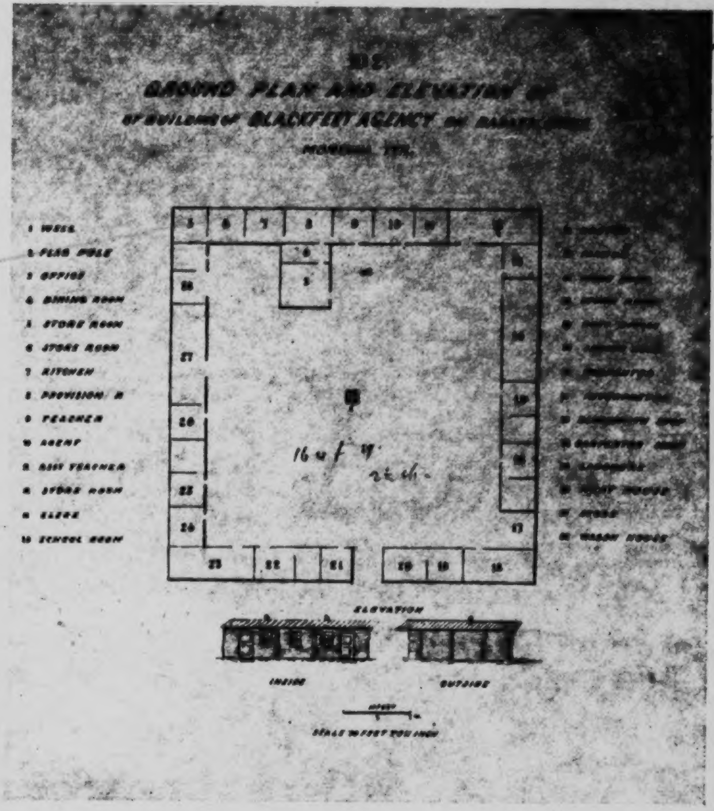
GROUND PLAN AND ELEVATION OF
BUILDINGS OF BLACKFEET AGENCY
1 WELL
2 FLAG POLE
3 OFFICE
4 DINING ROOM
5 STORE ROOM
6 STORE ROOM
7 KITCHEN
8 PROVISION R
9 TEACHER
10 AGENT
11 ASST TEACHER
12 STORE ROOM
13 CLERK
14 SCHOOL ROOM
ELEVATION
INSIDE
OUTSIDE

A contemporary plan of the Blackfeet agency on Badger Creek (1876–78).

COURTESY THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

[facing p 238]

[ca. 1860-1870]

651 over. When his successor, Gad E. Upson, reached Fort Benton on December 21, 1863, the Indians told him they thought their Great White Father had forgotten them. Not only had they received no annuities, but they had had no agent in their country for eighteen months. Upson put it very mildly when he reported that he found "the affairs of the agency in a deplorable condition." The farm buildings were run down, many of the farming implements were missing, and there was no seed on hand for the 721 spring planting. Whisky was being traded to the Indians. The Piegans were at war with their traditional allies, the Gros Ventres. And the Blackfoot warriors were stealing white men's horses.[6]

Perhaps even a strong, sympathetic "father" could not have prevented Blackfoot alarm at the increasing numbers of emigrants crossing their hunting grounds from ripening into open hostility. But certainly Upson's conception of the Indians as "degraded savages" whose potentialities for improvement appeared almost hopeless did not help matters. Under his unsympathetic care the aroused young warriors turned from stealing white men's horses to killing whites. Their actions were not unprovoked. "Sneaking drink givers," as they aptly termed the traders in illegal whisky, were inflaming the minds of restless, ambitious, red-skinned warriors with their low-grade liquor. Indian-hating whites were killing Indians in the town of Fort Benton as well as on the plains.

726 On April 23, 1865, some Blood Indians stole about forty horses from whites at Fort Benton. A month later a group of whites attacked a party of Blood visitors to Fort Benton and killed three of them. Two days after that, a large Blood Indian war party led by Calf Shirt, one of the chiefs who had signed the 1855 treaty of peace, discovered a party of ten woodcutters at the mouth of the Marias, twelve miles from Fort Benton, and killed all of them.

727 When the bloody corpses of the ten whites were found and word of their murder reached the capital of the new territory

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[6] *Ibid.*, 1864, 293-98.

whites. Another was the failure of the Indians to receive annuities promised them under the terms of the unratified treaty of 721
1865. The legal technicality of ratification meant nothing to the Indians. They knew their chiefs had signed a treaty which the commissioners had carefully explained to them would provide the Indians with sizable annuities. They expected to receive them just as they had after Lame Bull's Treaty a decade earlier. When they failed to get their annuities, the Indians concluded that the whites had lied.

To remedy this misunderstanding and to clear up the confusion in the minds of both Indians and whites regarding the 648
status of Indian land ceded by the 1865 treaty, William J. Cullen was commissioned to make another treaty with the Blackfoot tribes and the Gros Ventres. At Fort Benton on September 1, 1868, he negotiated a treaty with the Piegan, Blood, and Northern Blackfoot tribes. Although the last-named tribe was again represented by a single chief, Three Bulls, the treaty was signed by Mountain Chief as head chief of the Piegans and by Calf Shirt as Blood head chief, as well as by a considerable number of lesser chiefs of both tribes. The terms of this treaty were largely repetitions of those of the unratified treaty of three years earlier. The most noteworthy omission was the promise of special payments to individual chiefs. The reservation boundaries were the same. And the fate of this treaty was the same—it was never ratified. The Gros Ventres were treated with separately, with the view that they should be separated from their Blackfoot enemies on the eastern portion of the reservation, along with their more recent allies, the River Crow Indians.[21]

In 1869 the Indian agency was moved from Fort Benton, where 657
the municipal officials and many of the townspeople were unfriendly toward Indians, to a new location on the Teton River, a few miles north of present Choteau and about seventy-five miles northwest of Fort Benton. There the agent hoped he could

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[21] Treaty Between the United States and the Blackfoot Nation, September 1, 1868 (unratified). Manuscript, with signatures, Indian Office Records.

[ca. 1860-1870]

●657 "be his own master in controlling the affairs of his agency, without being dictated to . . . by merchants, thieves and blackguards," as he termed the Fort Benton townsfolk.[22]

721 During the years the agency had been at Fort Benton, a number of Blackfoot Indians had been killed in its streets and bars. Shortly after signing the ill-fated treaty of 1868, Mountain Chief, head chief of the Piegans, had been insulted and abused by some of the white men at Fort Benton because he had requested the treaty commissioner to put certain troublesome whites out of the Indian country.[23] The following summer Alexander Culbertson sent an old man who was the brother of Mountain Chief, and an Indian boy on an errand to Fort Benton. They were shot down in the streets of the town in broad daylight in revenge for the Indian killing of two white cattle herders near Fort Benton a few days earlier. General Alfred Sully, newly appointed superintendent of Indian Affairs for Montana, reported:

> I think I can arrest the murderers but I doubt very much if I can convict them in any court. Nothing can be done to insure peace and order till there is a military force here strong enough to clear out the roughs and whisky-sellers in the country.[24]

Without waiting for the white man's justice to take its tedious course, the enraged Indians took matters into their own hands. By August 18, Sully was reporting to Washington, "I fear we will have to consider the Blackfeet in a state of war."[25]

[726] Employing the hit-and-run tactics familiar to Blackfoot horse raiders, small Piegan war parties attacked freighters on the Fort Benton–Helena road and descended upon outlying ranches, running off horses and killing whites. On the night of August 17, some twenty-five young Piegan warriors visited Malcolm Clark on his ranch near the mouth of the Prickly Pear Canyon, within twenty-five miles of Helena. Clark had known the Blackfeet well

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[22] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1868, 206–207.

[23] *Ibid.*, 215.

[24] *Piegan Indians*, 41 Cong., 2 sess., *House Executive Document 269*, 3.

[25] *Ibid.*, 4.

● 657 The Blackfoot, Blood, and Sarsi tribes were assigned a common reserve on the north side of the Bow and South Saskatchewan rivers. But the three tribes did not get on well together. In the next year the Blood Indians were transferred to a new reserve on Belly River. This Blood Reserve remains the largest Indian reservation in the Dominion of Canada. The North Piegans were placed on a smaller reserve near the Porcupine Hills on Oldman River, west of Fort Macleod.

224 So long as there were wandering herds of buffalo to be followed, the boundaries of their reserves meant little to these Indians. The Canadian Blackfoot tribes continued to hunt on their ceded land and to cross the "medicine line" both to hunt and to 721 trade. Despite the vigilance of the "Red Coats," their wild and ambitious young men continued to capture horses from enemy camps and cleverly to evade the Mounties in bringing them home safely.

648 South of the "medicine line" in Montana Territory, the movement toward law and order proceeded more fitfully. Our government was experimenting with a new Indian policy. President Grant's administration, after the movement to place the Indian Bureau under the army had been defeated in Congress in 1870, decided upon a policy of feeding the warlike tribes of the West 657 instead of fighting them. Under this new "Peace Policy," as it 797 was commonly known, Indian agents were to be appointed upon the recommendation of organized church groups. It was expected that this restriction would insure the appointment of honest, dedicated agents. In the division of tribes among the Christian denominations, the Blackfeet fell to the Methodist Episcopal church, even though there never had been a Methodist missionary among these Indians in the United States.

657 During the early years of this idealistic arrangement the character and ability of Blackfoot agents showed no improvement. Few able, honest men cared to play the role of "father" to a people reputed to be the most bloodthirsty Indians of the northwestern plains for the petty salary of $1,500 a year. But there was no dearth of incompetent applicants for the post. Between

[ca. 1860-1875]

September, 1870, when Lieutenant Pease was relieved of duty 657
by army orders, and late January, 1875, the Blackfeet had four "fathers." The first served less than three months before he was under fire from the Republicans of the territory. Governor Potts declared, "His character is such that he ought not to hold the office even if a Republican." His successor was removed because he drank to excess. The next agent resigned under suspicion of having diverted Indian supplies to the store of a private trader, and the fourth was discharged for incompetence. When John McDougall, himself a Methodist missionary from Canada, visited the agency on the Teton in the spring of 1874, he was shocked by what he found. "It is no wonder that Uncle Sam was constantly having trouble with his native wards. The Government and the Indians were, both of them, looked upon by the ordinary Government employee as legitimate prey."[22]

McDougall also paid a short visit to the wide-open town of Fort Benton. He observed that "the wildest thing in this big country . . . was the ordinary white man."[23] Two years earlier 797
another Methodist missionary had reached a similar conclusion. In 1872, William Wesley Van Orsdel, a young, vigorous lay preacher from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, had gone west to the agency on the Teton to found a mission among the Blackfeet. This robust, intelligent, and sympathetic Pennsylvania Dutchman had no difficulty at all in making friends with the Blackfeet, who came to call him "Big Heart." Together, he and the Blackfeet sang songs and discussed religion. The Indians told him their origin legends, and "Big Heart" told them the equally dramatic Old Testament stories, which he believed were particularly well suited to the understanding of the nomadic Indians. He and the Indians agreed that there was no real conflict between Napi, the traditional Blackfoot creator, and the white man's God. But this open-minded missionary soon realized that little could be done for the Indians until the moral ideals and practices of their white neighbors improved. So "Brother Van," as he was affection-

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[22] McDougall, *On Western Trails*, 143.
[23] *Ibid.*, 145.

[ca. 1860-1875]

tendance. Children whose parents took them out of school to
accompany them on long buffalo hunts were likely to return 872
"having forgotten everything previously learned." Although this
agent claimed that twelve pupils had learned to read during
the year, it is improbable that any of them were full-bloods.[28]

The agents had even less luck in encouraging Blackfoot adults
to take a serious interest in farming. The government farmer 241
annually planted crops on the agency farm, but he could get few 657
Indians to follow his example. Seven families of half-blood men
married to Piegan women had farms near the agency in 1872,
and three houses had been built for the leading chiefs to encourage
them to settle down. Two years later, some old Indians
each planted an acre of potatoes and vegetables—but the grasshoppers
harvested their crops. Discouraged, Agent May concluded,
"The present generation of the tribes of this reservation
will never take much interest in agricultural pursuits. The hunt
is too attractive and game too plentiful."[29] With the exception 657
of a few old or blind Indians and their families who lived near
the agency, for whom one beef steer a week was killed, the Piegans 262
were depending entirely upon the hunt for their subsistence.
Not more than half of the Blackfoot, Blood, or Piegan Indians
had been fed at the agency at any time during the preceding
two or three years.[30]

In 1870 the government, in keeping with the new "Peace Policy," 657
had resumed distribution of annuities to the Blackfeet. The
annual expenditures of $50,000 were the same as the amount
promised in the unratified treaties of the sixties. The Indians
were acquiring a taste for the white man's coffee, and made ready 657
use of the blankets, cloth, and hardware furnished them by the 177
government. The agency blacksmith helped them by mending
their frying pans and kettles. In the month of April, 1874, he put
handles on about 200 frying pans and made about 500 fire steels

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[28] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, 300-301.

[29] *Ibid.*, 1874, 276.

[30] R. F. May to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 27, 1874, Indian Office Records.

[ca. 1960-1875]

● 657 and 555 sharp iron blades for the Indian women's use in dressing
buffalo hides.[31]

177 Agent May's indignation was aroused by the number of white
657 men who were living with Indian women on the Indian lands.
He proposed that they should marry these women or leave the
582 reservation, saying, "I will not, if left to act upon my own judgment allow so many bastard families to flourish under my eye."

648 When, in the year 1871, the United States government discontinued the policy of making treaties with Indian tribes as if they were foreign nations, the status of Blackfoot lands still was confused. The Indians supposed they had relinquished their lands south of the Teton River by the treaties of 1865 and 1868, but those treaties had never been ratified. Legally the Blackfeet had ceded none of their land. Yet there were thousands of white settlers living on ranches and farms, in mining camps, and in several flourishing towns on land formerly occupied by the Blackfoot Indians.

648 To legalize white settlement of this Indian land, President
Grant, on July 5, 1873, issued an executive order establishing a
657 large reservation, including all of Montana east of the Rockies and north of the Missouri and Sun rivers, for the Blackfoot tribes, the Gros Ventres, Assiniboins, and River Crow Indians. But the new order was obsolete before it was issued. White ranchers were running thousands of cattle on the Indian lands north of Sun River. Dissatisfied with the new boundary, Montana settlers put pressure upon their territorial delegate in Washington, Martin Maginnis, to get the line moved farther north. On February 7, 1874, a letter from Maginnis read before the Montana legislature told of his progress in getting this boundary redrawn.

> After a hard struggle I succeeded in obtaining from the Indian Department an agreement to change the boundaries of the reservation for the Blackfoot and other Indians. They agree to recede to the line of the Marias, from its mouth to the mountains.[32]

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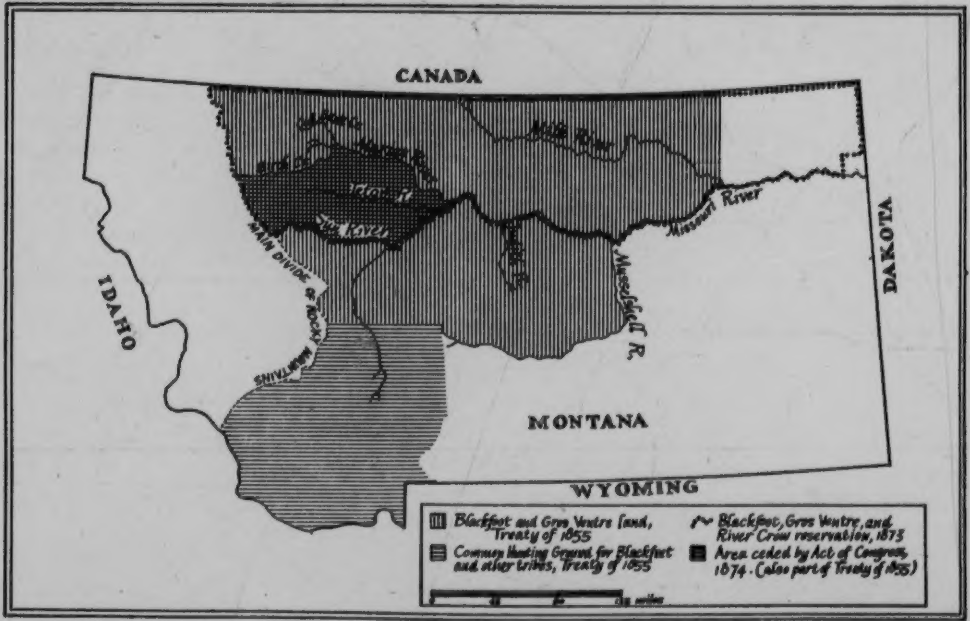
[31] May to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1874, Indian Office Records.

[32] *Weekly Independent* (Deer Lodge City, Montana Territory), February 14, 1874.

[p.271]


CANADA
Milk River
Sun River
Missouri River
Musselshell R.
MAIN DIVIDE OF ROCKY MOUNTAINS
IDAHO
DAKOTA
MONTANA
WYOMING
▥ Blackfoot and Gros Ventre land, Treaty of 1855
▤ Common Hunting Ground for Blackfoot and other tribes, Treaty of 1855
Blackfoot, Gros Ventre, and River Crow reservation, 1873
■ Area ceded by Act of Congress, 1874. (also part of Treaty of 1855)
miles

Blackfoot Lands in Montana, 1855–74.

102
131
657●
648

648 657 When word of this intended boundary change reached the Indians, a delegation under the Piegan chief, Little Plume, visited their "father" at the agency. Little Plume said that his people never would consent voluntarily to the change in the line. It would confine them to too narrow a strip of territory and deprive them of a large and desirable portion of their hunting ground. Agent May's letter to Washington roused the wrath of Maginnis. In a letter to the *Helena Daily Independent*, on May 8, Maginnis gloatingly wrote:

> The bill which I introduced to move the Blackfoot Reservation back to the line of the Marias and Birch Creek, has become a law. The present Agency will be moved back on the Reservation and the Teton Valley thrown open to settlement. The remonstrances of the present Agent against this bill were received at the Department before its passage, but it was passed and signed notwithstanding, and that too with the approval of the Department.[33]

In reply to the letter published in the newspaper, the spunky agent wrote Maginnis:

> I am sure I do not overstate the case when I say the Indians residing upon this reservation are unanimous in their opposition to the change of line—that is the removal beyond the Teton—South of the Teton they do not care for . . . I could have sent to you for presentation to Congress a "remonstrance" bearing more than two thousand Indian signatures, but I contented myself by sending to the Hon. Commissioner the substance of the words spoken by the Chief Little Plume, and I know now, and knew then that he spoke the sentiments of his Tribe.[34]

Four months later, in his annual report to the commissioner of Indian Affairs, Agent May again showed his indignation at

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[33] May to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 24, 1874, Indian Office Records; *Helena Daily Independent*, May 22, 1874.

[34] May to Martin Maginnis, May 25, 1874. Maginnis Papers, Montana Historical Society Library.

8: Ewers, E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1860-1875]

the treatment of his "children." "To take from peaceable, friendly 648
Indians a very large portion of their best hunting and pasture
land without consultation or remuneration, is a violation of the 657
wise and Christian policy of the Government."[35]

By an act of Congress of April 15, 1874, the reservation boundary was officially moved northward to the Birch Creek–Marias River line. But Agent May made no effort to remove his agency from the Teton northward to some locality on the reservation. His stubborn championing of the rights of the Indians ended with his removal from office the following January.

May's successor, John Wood, fresh from a period of service
as city marshal of Ottumwa, Iowa, brought to his new job an 657
enthusiasm for law and order that soon was reflected in his
relations with the Blackfeet. Wood found the Indians leaderless
and demoralized. During the preceding year, fifteen to twenty 622
men, including five chiefs, had been killed near the agency as
the result of quarrels induced by too liberal use of whisky. The 273
success of the Mounted Police in Canada had driven the whisky 579
traders southward to Montana, where they operated in apparent [439]
collaboration with the licensed Blackfoot traders. Among the
Indians killed had been the head chief of the Piegans. Agent 622
May had appointed a successor to this chief, but the majority [657]
of the Indians refused to recognize him. They wanted to choose
their own chief.[36]

One of Wood's first acts was to call in the scattered hunting
bands. When more than five thousand Indians had gathered 657
around the agency, he began to urge them to organize, elect head 657
chiefs, and adopt laws for their tribal government. He warned
them that unless they changed their habits, they would become 622
extinct in a few years. After five days of talks with the Indians,
Wood convened a council on April 20, 1875, to elect chiefs and
to make laws. He called upon the Indians to elect a head chief
who did not drink and who would care for and control his

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[35] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1874, 260.

[36] John Wood to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 2 and February 11, 1875, Indian Office Records.

657 people. Unanimously the band chiefs selected Little Plume as
their head chief and Generous Woman and White Calf as sub-
622 ordinate chiefs.

657 Agent Wood and the chiefs then proceeded to draft a code of
laws for their people. The new code, as recorded by the agent,
671 provided for a tribunal consisting of the head chief, the two
subordinate chiefs, and the agent. Any Indian charged with a
breach of the law was guaranteed a trial before this tribunal,
which had the power to inflict a punishment which must be nei-
673 ther barbarous nor cruel. Nine crimes and their punishments
were spelled out in the code. An Indian found guilty of murder-
673 ing another Indian was to be hanged by the neck until dead.
682 If an Indian killed a white man, he was to be turned over to
the civil authorities. The other and lesser crimes, which were
673 punishable by fines of horses, robes, or peltries, were listed in
681 order—threat to kill, theft, assault, wife beating, polygamy, rape,
sale of a female relative to a white man, and the buying, selling,
671 or keeping of intoxicating liquor. On April 23 the new code was
signed by the three newly elected principal chiefs and seventeen
chiefs of bands.[37]

This was a revolutionary document for the primitive Black-
foot Indians. Undoubtedly, its conception and many of its pro-
visions originated with the former city marshal of Ottumwa,
[682] Iowa. The substitution of the death penalty for the traditional
Blackfoot punishment by retaliatory action against the killer by
members of the murdered man's family must have been Wood's
[673] idea. The recognition of polygamy, wife beating, and the sale
of a female relative to a white man as crimes represented an
acceptance of moral values which were quite new to these Indians. Nevertheless, Wood got the chiefs to agree to these provisions of the code. Some months later Inspector Watkins of the Indian Bureau expressed the opinion that no law existed under which the new Blackfoot tribunal could act legally. Nevertheless,

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[37] Code of Laws Adopted by the Blackfeet, Blood and Piegan Indians in Council, April 23, 1875, Indian Office Records.

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he thought the new code of laws was "eminently just and the 671
practical working of the system very beneficial."[38]

Agent Wood found the Indians' bitterness over the loss of 657
the southernmost portion of their reservation had been aggravated by his predecessor's promises to get the land back for them. He was not unsympathetic to the Indians' feelings in the matter; nevertheless, as a good law officer he recognized his duty to persuade the Indians that the new boundary line had to be respected. Meanwhile, the old agency within the ceded land on the Teton was becoming more and more untenable. White men had filed claims on the farm and even on the stockade of
the very agency itself. Whites stole so many horses from Indians [177]
visiting their "father" at the agency that the red men preferred
not to go back.[39]

Quietly, the agent won the consent of the majority of the Blackfeet to go north to the new reservation, where buffalo still were plentiful. When Chief White Calf complained to him of the whites' having taken "the fairest portion of their reservation," Wood replied with the common sense argument "that they had more land than they wanted; that if he or any other Indian would take ten acres and cultivate it, the same as white men do, it would yield enough food to feed over ten persons during the entire year."[40]

In the month of May, Wood traveled northward and selected a site for a new agency on Badger Creek, some fifty miles north of the old site on the Teton and fourteen miles beyond the southern boundary of the new reservation. He found there "about 100 acres of well watered, arable land and timber sufficient to last the Indians for 10 years for firewood."[41] On June 4, 1875, the commissioner of Indian Affairs authorized Wood to proceed with the construction of a new agency on Badger Creek. This was the

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[38] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, 47.

[39] John Wood to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, February 2 and May 14, 1875, Indian Office Records.

[40] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1875, 300.

[41] John Wood to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1875, Indian Office Records.

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657 first agency to be established within the boundaries of the present Blackfeet Reservation. It is interesting to note that its location was within a few miles of the place where Meriwether Lewis first met the Piegans sixty-nine years before.

648 So it was in the middle of the decade of the 1870's that law came to the Blackfoot tribes on both sides of the "medicine line." On both sides of the line the same period witnessed the cession of large areas of Blackfoot Indian hunting grounds and the nominal confinement of these people to reservations. The line itself came to have new meaning, for it divided the Blackfoot tribes into two groups—the Northern Blackfeet, Bloods, and Piegans on the north, who had become loyal subjects of "The Great Mother" (Queen Victoria), and the majority of the Piegan bands on the south, who remained "The Great White Father's children."

By the following year they had become so scarce that the restrictions 136
were repealed. In the summer of 1878 prairie fires
swept a wide area of grassland west of the Cypress Hills. The
buffalo, seeking pasturage, moved southward, and the Canadian
Blackfoot tribes followed them across the line. The main herd
remained south of Milk River, extending southward to the Judith
Basin. The great buffalo herds never returned to the land of
"The Great Mother."[4]

In 1879 hunger stalked the camps of the Canadian Blackfeet. 261
By summer some of the Northern Blackfeet had died of starvation. 262
Others were eating dogs, horses, soup made from old buffalo
bones gathered on the plains, and even grass, to keep themselves
alive. Inspector Denny, at the Mounted Police post of
Fort Calgary, reported that twenty-one Indians starved to death
by July 5. He was then buying cattle to feed the Indians. When
a steer was shot, Denny saw the famished Indians "rush on the
animal with their knives before it had ceased kicking, cut away
the flesh and maddened by hunger, devour it raw."[5]

More than three thousand destitute Indians, primarily Bloods 657 ●
and North Piegans, camped around Fort Macleod that fall. Pathetically, 261
Indian parents called upon the police for help, saying,
"We have had nothing to eat for two, three, or four days, and
our children are crying with the hunger; we do not care so much
for ourselves but we do not like to see our children die."[6] Unable
to feed this multitude, Indian Commissioner Edgar B. Dewdney
gave the Indians some provisions and advised them to cross "the
medicine line" into Montana. He later claimed that this action
had saved the Canadian government "at least $100,000."[7] It also
gave the Canadian officials valuable time to set up a feeding program
for the destitute Blackfoot Indians, who only the year before
had been haughty, happy, self-sufficient people.

South of the boundary, the Piegans in Montana still relied 262
primarily upon buffalo for their subsistence. When their new

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[4] MacInnes, *In the Shadow of the Rockies*, 145.
[5] Denny, *The Law Marches West*, 130, 143-44.
[6] *The Saskatchewan Herald* (Regina), November 3, 1879.
[7] Paul F. Sharp, *Whoop-Up Country*, 155.

[ca. 1875-1885]

262 "father," John Young, arrived from Brooklyn, New York, in December, 1876, he found only the old, infirm, and blind Indians, with some children, encamped in the valley of Badger Creek near [224] the new agency. The able-bodied Indians were away hunting buffalo.[8]

● 657 The agency had been moved north from the Teton River only the month before, to a site less than five miles west of the present Browning-Great Falls highway crossing of Badger Creek. Although it did not have a stockade or bastions as did the old trading posts, it resembled them in its hollow, rectangular plan. Built of squared logs, with the doorways to the buildings on the interior sides of the rectangle, it could serve as a fortress in case of an attack by hostile Indians.

224 Throughout the remainder of the seventies, Young's children continued to hunt buffalo both summer and winter at considerable distances from the agency. Although these hunts were not uniformly successful, they provided the Indians not only with the greater part of their food, but also with skins for lodges and a considerable number of hides for trade. On the winter hunt of 1877-78 some of the families got as many as seventy robes. During the next winter a large hunting camp of four hundred lodges, led by Chief White Calf, found "robes and meat plenty" near the Bear Paw Mountains. But a smaller party under Fast Buffalo Horse, hunting farther south took few buffalo. It was a severe winter. A woman and child of Fast Buffalo Horse's party froze to death, and the horses grew so weak they could barely 136 travel. When this camp returned to the agency, their leaders were convinced that the time was fast approaching when failure of the buffalo would force them to make a change in their way of life. One of the men told John Young, "The time is close when the tail of the last buffalo will be seen disappearing from the prairie."[9]

657 So long as there were fat buffalo to be killed, most of these

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262 [8] John Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 22, 1876, Indian Office Records.

[9] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879, 90; Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 1, 1878, Indian Office Records.

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Indians had little desire for the beef and bacon issued in their 657
annuities or for the potatoes and turnips they might raise them-
selves. They missed the non-food items when their annuities 262
failed to arrive in 1876. In October of the next year, Young distributed the goods for both 1876 and 1877, commenting that 657
"in no previous distribution had the old, infirm and children been so comfortably clothed and provided for against the winter." These annuity goods included such useful items as woolen blankets, red flannel shirts, calico prints, linen and cotton thread, iron kettles, short-handled frying pans, tin pans, plates and cups, tinned iron table spoons, knives, and forks, six-inch hunting knives, and tapered saw files.[10]

Agent Young's official reports on the progress of his "children" revealed a tendency, not uncommon among Indian agents, to couple current discouragement with an unwarranted optimism toward the future. In1877 he wrote: 657 177

> I find it difficult to prevail upon even the more sensible and reflecting portion to give up their nomadic life and settle down to farm or raise cattle. They admit the time approaches fast when buffalo will disappear, but until then the excitement of the chase and the notion that labor is only for women will prevent the change to a more certain and civilized life.

On the other hand, he found some encouragement in the fact [241]
that some of the chiefs had "requested to be allowed, with their
own hands, to put some of the seeds in the ground that they [342]
might watch their progress with more interest," and also in the fact that they were "talking of selecting locations and asking help to build cabins." The agent parlayed these faint glimmers of hope into a prophecy that "with proper management they can soon be made self-supporting."[11]

During the next year the first concrete evidences of settling
down appeared. That winter two Indians, Gambler and Spotted [342]

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[10] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878, 83; Blackfeet Agency Annuity Estimate for 1877, September 22, 1875, Indian Office Records.

[11] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1877, 132.

657 Eagle, with the help of white men, built two log cabins on Birch
177 Creek, and White Calf, the head chief, followed their example.
342 By summer there were ten Indian cabins on the reservation and
[241] these cabin-dwellers had planted forty acres of potatoes and turnips. My older informants said that most of these pioneer Piegan farmers were members of Running Crane's band, whose gar-
657 den plots were on Badger Creek very near the agency. Although
177 Young was proud of these achievements, he managed to temper his report of these humble beginnings with a realistic appraisal of the future.

> [461] To extend these improved matters and make them permanent will require time, patience, and discretion. Many difficulties lie in the way. The Indians have no correct notion of continuous labor. It is rare for the same Indian to work for more than a few days at a time, and he is apt to stop as the whim or notion moves him.[12]

Agent Young dealt with many other problems involving his "children" which were not directly related to the major one of getting them to settle down and try to make a living at civilized pursuits. These problems involved their spiritual welfare, their physical health, their education, their tribal government, their relations with the traders, and even the relocation of the agency.

657 Young felt strongly that the lack of missionaries handicapped
797 his efforts to civilize "these savages." He complained bitterly that the large Methodist missionary societies, which "do so much for India and China," had totally neglected the Blackfeet, even though this reservation had been assigned to their denomination. He organized a Sunday school and was delighted to hear the women in the brush cutting firewood "enliven their toil by singing our Sabbath-school tunes." But he felt the need of a full-time missionary to help eliminate the Indians' "superstitious practices" in such practical ways as by inducing them to see the physician at the agency when they became sick rather than to call upon the traditional medicine man.[13]

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[12] *Ibid.*, 1878, 84.

797 Meanwhile, Roman Catholic missionaries, denied access to the reservation by the fact that it had been officially designated Methodist territory, traveled with the Blackfoot hunting bands and performed baptisms and marriages among them. In 1881, Father Prando built a small chapel on the south side of Birch Creek. The Indians could go to him, but he was forbidden to cross the river to pursue his work on the reservation. By that time some of the Piegan bands had settled on Birch Creek near this mission station and had become ardent followers of this priest. When, in the fall of 1883, a senatorial investigating committee visited the reservation, it found that head chief White Calf's principal complaint against Agent Young was his refusal to allow the Jesuits on the reservation.[14]

657 177 871 By 1878 top-level Indian Bureau administrators were convinced that the civilization of the Indians could be brought about more speedily through the education of their children than by any other means. On the Blackfeet Reservation in the late seventies they had little opportunity to prove their theory. The great majority of the Indian families spent too little time near the agency. When they were near by, the school was crowded. When they folded their lodges and went on a buffalo hunt, the children went with them, even though a few ran away from their families and returned to school. Of the twelve hundred Indian children of school age in 1878, only twenty boys and thirty girls attended school for more than one month, and only two children learned to read and write during the year.[15]

191 Both children and adults were reluctant to speak the English words they knew, fearing that they would be laughed at if they mispronounced any of them. At the same time, the Indians laughed loudly at the crude and halting efforts of the whites employed at the agency to speak Blackfoot.[16]

871 [875] The investigating committee in 1883 found that the school teachers, the Misses Young, daughters of the agent, were "most

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[13] *Ibid.*, 1877, 132; 1879, 91.

[14] Bischoff, *Jesuits in Old Oregon*, 90–91, 100.

[15] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878, *xxiv*, 83, 288–89.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1877, 131.

871 [1875] estimable and energetic young ladies, but the school is doing very little in the education of the Indian children." On ration days as many as two hundred children attended; on other days, no more than fifty. Chief White Calf also complained that this school "amounted to nothing."[17]

648 Following the decision in 1877 of the Northern Blackfeet, Bloods, and North Piegans to swear allegiance to The Great Mother and to receive land in Canada under the terms of Treaty No. 7, only eleven bands among all the Indians known by the general designation of Blackfeet remained as wards of the United States. It was not surprising that Agent Young observed that the Indians on his reservation were "now calling themselves by the general name Piegan" in 1878. They were members of Piegan [162] bands. Yet the official estimate of seventy-five hundred Indians on the Montana reservation at that time was excessively high. It must have included a large number of Canadian Indians who had crossed the "medicine line" to get in on the distribution of annuities from "The Great White Father." For nearly two decades thereafter the problem of determining on which side of the line some of these Indians belonged was a perplexing one for both governments, and especially for their agents in the field. 648 ● 657 Meanwhile, many clever Indians managed to move back and forth across the line to get in on rations and payments issued by both the United States and Canada. My elderly Piegan informants told me they had no trouble getting a share of the Canadians' bounty prior to the middle eighties. The problem was complicated by the common practice of intermarriage between the several Blackfoot tribes. It was not until the middle nineties that definite reservation assignments were made for some individuals by agreement between their agents in the United States and Canada. 114 In the meantime, the population figures for the Blackfoot tribes in both Canada and the United States were

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[17] *Report of the Subcommittee of the Special Committee of the United States Senate Appointed to Visit the Indian Tribes of Northern Montana*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Report No.* 283, 233–34. (Hereafter referred to as *Subcommittee Report*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Report* 283.)

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439 [411] whisky trade that flourished in Canada before the coming of the Mounted Police.[21]

Meanwhile, the licensed trader, limited to the sale of antiquated powder and ball, lost business at his post near the agency. In the light of this background information it is understandable that the investigating committee in September, 1883, found the post trader's store "a very poor one, with indifferent stocks of goods."[22] He just had not been able to compete with those sharp fellows on the Marias.

651 Agent Young had never been happy about the location of the first agency on Badger Creek. The valley was too narrow and contained too little arable land. The hilly surroundings made cattle herding difficult, or would have if the Indians had owned any cattle. In the fall of 1878 he enlisted the aid of the Indians in moving the agency buildings a few miles downstream to a site east of the present Browning–Great Falls highway. Both men and women assisted him in digging cellars, hauling stone, mixing mortar, hauling poles for fences, and erecting the fences. The Indian women covered the outside of the buildings with lime hauled from a kiln near Heart Butte. Young was pleased to report that the removal was accomplished at very small cost and without any special appropriation because the Indians had pitched [103] in and helped.[23] Although the buildings erected in this first Blackfoot Indian public works project have disappeared, the site of Young's bright new agency of 1879 is still known as "Old Agency."

342 The experience gained in moving the agency encouraged some of the Indian families to build cabins of their own on Badger Creek or Birch Creek in the southern part of their reservation. 621 [342] [721] By the summer of 1881 there were eighty Indian-owned cabins, including ten built by Three Suns' band on Two Medicine River, the first attempted settlement on a stream north of the agency. But persistent Cree horse raids on this outlying settlement in

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[21] John Young correspondence, December 27, 1876–September 11, 1877. Agents' Letter Book, The Blackfeet Archives, Museum of the Plains Indian.

[22] *Subcommittee Report*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Report 283*, 234.

[23] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1879, 90.

231 cattle herd on the reservation and told them the animals should not be killed for food until their numbers increased. By the next summer, this agency herd had increased to six hundred head. It looked as if the Blackfeet were building up a solid hedge against distress when the buffalo disappeared.[26]

224 The winter hunt in 1881 had been unsuccessful. But the following December the Indians discovered buffalo in considerable numbers on the reservation, between the Sweet Grass Hills and the Bear Paw Mountains. They returned from the winter hunt in March, 1882, to report "plenty to eat and no sickness among them."[27]

224 Nevertheless, each year a smaller number of Piegans were
going on the winter buffalo hunt, while more of them remained
262 encamped near the agency, depending primarily upon govern-
● 657 ment rations for their food. At the end of January, 1881, there
178 were only 605 Indians near the agency; at the same period a
year later there were 1,955, and in 1883 there were about 3,000.
Only a small portion of the tribe went on the winter hunt in 1883,
657 and they brought back only a few robes. By February 1, 1883,
262 the demands for rations had become so great that Agent Young
was having to supplement his beef and flour issue by giving his
"children" potatoes. He wrote the commissioner, "But for this
there would be suffering for want of food." By April, shortened
rations brought complaints of hunger from the Indians. And by
May even the potato stock was reduced to the small quantity
reserved for seed. The anxious agent reported, "As I cannot get
cattle to buy I fear suffering and trouble." A week later he telegraphed
Washington, "There will not be provisions enough to
prevent suffering. Can anything be done?"[28]

[224] Early in July two Piegan bands led by chiefs Little Dog and Bull Shoe rode to hunt in the neighborhood of the Sweet Grass Hills, where nine years before buffalo had been seen in countless numbers. They killed just six buffalo and a few antelope. The

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[26] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1880.

[27] *Ibid.*, March 1, 1881, April 1, 1881, and April 1, 1882.

[28] *Ibid.*, February 1, April 2, May 1, 1883; telegram of May 8, 1883.

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Canadian government was about to make its annual distribution [657 262] to the Indians north of the line, yet Young conscientiously forbade his Indians to leave the reservation, even though he was well aware "that the larger the number that go, my issue of provisions has the fewer to feed."[29] Instead, he began killing cattle from the agency herd. Late that month delivery of fifty steers was received. It wasn't a drop in the bucket.

On September 14, Senator George Vest of Missouri and Montana's delegate Martin Maginnis visited the reservation on a tour of investigation of the condition of the Indians. Their principal objective appears to have been to talk with the chiefs regarding another land cession. However, they learned the Indians were eating their limited weekly rations in two days and starving the rest of the week. They were there on ration day and saw the pitiable "eagerness in the hungry eyes of the waiting crowd as the beef was being distributed." They heard Three Suns say in the council:

> Major Young has done a little, and would do more if he could. If a man asks for a horse and you have only a colt, that is all you can give him . . . but the winter is close. You see how poor we are; there is no buffalo; we are on the verge of starvation. I would like to know if anything will be done this winter. If not, it will be too late for many; they will starve.

Senator Vest replied that it would be three months before the Great Council (Congress) would meet, but he promised he "would immediately ask that something be done to keep them this winter."[30]

The summer's crops had been a complete failure as a result [241] of late frosts in spring, drought, and early fall frosts. The few potatoes obtained had been frozen in the ground and would not keep. Late in September, Young received a letter from Commissioner Price in Washington, informing him that the total

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[29] *Ibid.*, August 1, 1883.

[30] *Subcommittee Report*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Report* 283, 233, 244.

659 262 appropriation for supplies for his agency was already exhausted, and "as it is not in the power of this department to make any further provision for their support than the appropriations of Congress allows, nothing further can be done." Young immediately penned his resignation, reminding the Commissioner that high officials of the department as well as members of the Senate Commission had given the Indians strong hopes that more food would be sent them, and adding, "It is a grave error not to keep even an implied promise, made to Indians. The Division of Supplies authorized will not prevent distress and loss of life, and in all probability [will] lead to outrage."[31]

Neither letters of explanation nor of resignation brought any relief to the starving Indians. Agent Young stuck to his post through the horrible winter until his relief came. By the end of October none of the food purchases of the fiscal year had been received except sugar. In mid-November Inspector C. H. Howard visited the agency. He had seen white men's cattle illegally grazing on the reservation, but he found the Indians starving for want of meat. Howard feared the desperate Indians might kill the white men's cattle, the cowboys defend their herds with firearms, and another Indian war break out. He reported that the Indians were receiving rations at the rate of one and one-half pounds of beef and two and one-fourth pounds of flour per person per week. No other food was available. He visited many houses and lodges on a Thursday, two days before the weekly ration issue, and in most of them found no food at all. With winter coming on, the road to Fort Benton might soon become impassable. Howard recommended that because of its light weight compared to beef, bacon should be purchased for the Indians.[32]

In December, Young received a shipment of enough beef to last until April at one-fourth rations. He also received a sizable supply of bacon. But when the agency doctor inspected the

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[31] Commissioner Price to John Young, September 13, 1883; John Young to Price, September 24, 1883, Indian Office Records.

[32] C. H. Howard, Special Report on Condition of the Blackfeet Indians, November 16, 1883, Interior Department Archives.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1875-1885]

bacon, he found it so filled with worms and pervaded by stench 657
that it was unfit for human food.[33]

By mid-February the agency cattle herd was reduced to 117 262
animals. From his log mission south of Birch Creek, Father Prando [231]
reported that an epidemic of erysipelas had struck the weakened [164]
Indians and they were dying at a rate of from one to four [165]
a day. He noted that in spite of the uproar in the newspapers about the deplorable condition of these Indians, no help had come to them.[34]

When Reuben Allen relieved Young in April, he wrote to the commissioner in Washington, "I find here about twenty-five hundred Indians in almost a starving condition. I am credibly informed that many have died in the past few months for want of sufficient food."[35] Montana newspapers, which, without bothering to investigate the situation, had castigated his predecessor as the fiend who had caused the starvation among the Piegans, hailed Major Allen as the hero who would solve the problem. (Even as late as July 3, 1884, the *Sun River Sun* was claiming that Young had kept Washington ignorant of the condition of affairs at the agency.)

But Allen brought no food with him, and nothing else would save the Indians. By May 3 his meat supply was gone and he had little flour. "To prevent further suffering and loss of life by starvation," he went to the warehouse where the supply of condemned bacon was stored, sorted it, salvaged 2,112 pounds, and issued it to his "children." Agent Allen was desperate, and he justified his action on the grounds that it was the only thing he could do to alleviate the Indians' suffering.[36]

Spring had brought no relief. When Allen gave out five thousand pounds of seed potatoes to the Indians for planting, most of them were eaten. Those that were planted never had a chance

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[33] Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 3, 1883, Indian Office Records.

[34] Bischoff, *Jesuits in Old Oregon*, 92.

[35] Reuben Allen to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, April 9, 1884, Indian Office Records.

[36] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1884.

657 262 to mature, as the Indians dug and ate them at the first opportunity. In June they stripped the cottonwood trees and ate the inner bark. In August they found some small game and berries in the mountains. Allen informed Washington that unless he obtained more supplies when the berries were gone, the carpenter would again be kept busy making burial boxes. He wrote that he could give the Indians less than five ounces of meat (one-fifth rations) and less than six ounces of flour a day. "On such an allowance, having nothing else, how could they avoid starving?"[37]

The Indian Bureau obtained authority to spend all of its inadequate appropriation for the Blackfoot Agency for the fiscal year 1885 by March 30, thus increasing the daily rations. And on January 8, 1885, Congress provided a special appropriation to feed these Indians during the remaining three months of that year. Thus the frightful epidemic of starvation finally was brought under control.

165 There is no adequate record of the number of Piegan deaths from starvation during those nightmarish years 1883–84. The agents' annual report for the year preceding July 1, 1884, listed only 247 deaths from all causes. But the Indian Rights Association, which investigated the disaster, found that "upward of four hundred were starved to death."[38] Almost-a-Dog, a Piegan Indian, is said to have kept a record of each death as it occurred by cutting a notch in a willow stick, and the number of those marks is said to have reached 555. Between one-fourth and one-sixth of the Piegans in Montana must have perished from starvation in the years 1883–84. [103] So many of the victims were buried on the hill south of Badger Creek during that period that the Indians came to refer to it as "Ghost Ridge."

657 262 Some earlier writers seemed to feel that a disaster of such horror and magnitude demanded a scapegoat. Much of the blame for it was heaped upon resigned Agent John Young. J. Willard Schultz went so far as to picture him as a heartless wretch

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[37] *Ibid.*, August 11, 1884.

[38] Indian Rights Association, *Second Annual Report for the Year Ending December, 1884*, 19.

[ca. 1875-1885]

who was content to sit by and see his Piegan "children" starve 657
before his eyes while he fed his chickens corn.[39] But the official 262
correspondence of the period, to which Schultz had no access, tells a different story. Agent Young was not popular among the Indians, but he did not fail in his duty to keep Washington informed of the sad condition of the Piegans resulting from the sudden disappearance of their major food resource, the buffalo.

The Indian Bureau, despite the warning lesson of the starvation among the Canadian Blackfeet which had followed the 224
sudden extermination of the buffalo north of the boundary four years before, had instituted no program to regulate the slaughter of the northern herd by either Indians or whites in this country. Large numbers of white hide hunters, as well as Indians from Canada and the United States, had been allowed complete freedom to kill as many buffalo as they could. When "the tail of the 657
last buffalo disappeared from the prairie," the Indian Bureau 262
was caught unprepared to meet the immediate emergency. Its funds for the purchase of rations were estimated and tightly budgeted a year in advance of their expenditure. There was no margin to care for emergencies. The failure of crops in the summer of 1883, delays in the delivery of food purchased, and the fact that the bacon obtained in December was unfit for human consumption were contributory causes.

Yet had the Indian Bureau been able to obtain a special appropriation from Congress in the early months of 1884, some, if not much, of the starvation would have been avoided. The Indian Rights Association, which thoroughly investigated this disaster, pulled no punches in blaming Congressman John Ellis, chairman of the House Sub-committee on Indian Appropriations, for the failure of the Indian Bureau to obtain the special appropriation to care for this emergency which it had requested of Congress in 1884. Throughout the late months of that year, the Indian Rights Association worked hard and persistently to convince members of Congress of the urgency of action for the relief of the starving Indians. Yet it was not until after the Indian Rights

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[39] Schultz, *My Life as an Indian*, 394–408.

657 262 Association offered an open letter to the newspapers pointing out that Ellis's delaying action placed in jeopardy the lives of many of the Montana Indians that he introduced a joint resolution calling for $50,000 to be made immediately available for the support and maintenance of the destitute Indians. Once introduced, the resolution passed both houses within two days.[40]

Actually this emergency did not affect the Piegans alone. It was a regional one. The Gros Ventres and Assiniboins farther east, who shared with the Blackfeet the great reservation covering all of northern Montana Territory east of the Rockies, also shared their suffering when "the tail of the last buffalo disappeared from the prairies." The suffering of the Indians on Milk River was somewhat relieved when their menfolk offered their wives and daughters to soldiers at near-by Fort Assiniboine in return for money with which to buy food from the post trader.[41]

721 261 It was remarkable that, in spite of the fears of Inspector Howard and of many white-skinned Montanans, the destitute Blackfoot Indians, whose ancestors bore such a reputation for "bloodthirstiness," did not in their desperation descend in force upon the great herds of settlers' cattle on the plains south of the reservation and take what food they needed. Perhaps Indian memory of the massacre on the Marias was still too fresh in their minds. The suffering Piegans remained remarkably orderly.

262 648 It was doubly tragic that many of these Indians starved to death almost in the midst of plenty, while no well-fed settlers living on former Blackfoot lands offered any effective aid. The Piegans had been starving for fully a year when, on August 29, 1884, Governor John Schuyler Crosby piously wrote the Secretary of the Interior in Washington: "As Governor of Montana, in the name of her people I protest against keeping the nation's wards within the limits of this Territory in such pitiable, starving condition. Humanity and justice demand their immediate relief."[42]

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[40] Indian Rights Association, *The Action of Congress in Regard to the Piegan Indians of Montana*, 1–20.

[41] *Ibid.*, 4.

[42] *The Congressional Record*, January 6, 1885, 485.

[ca. 1880-1900]

648 657 The other prominent chiefs—White Calf, Three Suns, Little White Cow, and Running Crane—echoed Little Dog's sentiments. Yet nearly three and one-half years passed before a land sale was negotiated and these Indians began to receive the cattle and the equipment they sorely needed to help them make a living on their remaining land.

361 [657] Meanwhile, the two thousand South Piegans who survived the starvation of 1883–84 settled down within a radius of fifteen miles of their agency and lived from week to week upon the rations given them by their agent. The majority of the old hunting bands settled on Badger Creek. The westernmost settlement, farthest upstream, was that of the Black Door Band, under Chief After Buffalo. It was just east of the present crossing of Badger Creek by the road from Browning to Heart Butte. Downstream, near the site of the first agency on Badger Creek, was the Lone Eater's Band, led by Chief Running Crane. On the north side of the stream, opposite present Mad Plume School, lived a mixed group composed of families from several of the old hunting bands, under Big Plume's leadership. Below this group was the large Grease Melters' Band, under the noted Chief Three Suns. And farther downstream was Chief Little Dog's Black-patched Moccasins Band.

Just west of Old Agency, on land now crossed by the highway from Great Falls to Browning lived the Indians' "white brothers-in-law," the white men who had taken Piegan wives. Below them was the agency, and near it stood about one hundred log cabins built to house the old people when Old Agency was erected in 1879. The little remnant of the once large and powerful Small Robes Band, led by Chief Lodge Pole, occupied cabins just east of the agency.

[366] 796 237 About one mile east of the agency, on a flat south of Badger Creek, was the trader's store. Below it were settled the members of the Buffalo Dung Band. Farther downstream were some of the older people of the Black-patched Moccasins Band, led by Shaggy Bear Chief. It was on the flat south of this band that the Piegans held their first sun dance after the buffalo were gone --the first in which cattle tongues were the sacred food.

—the first in which cattle tongues were the sacred food. 000

On downstream was a small, detached group from the Buffalo 361 Dung Band who recognized White Grass as their chief. The easternmost band on Badger Creek consisted of a few families, all of the members of the Bugs Band who had survived the starvation.

The three remaining Piegan bands resided on Birch Creek along the southern boundary of the reservation. They were the Skunks Band of Head Chief White Calf, the Blood Band led by Fast Buffalo Horse, and the All Chiefs under Chief Horn.[2]

At that time the white men with Indian families, some of the 342 aged Indians near the agency, and a few families elsewhere on Badger and Birch creeks lived in log cabins. But the majority of the fullbloods still resided in tipis the year round. Lacking buffalo cowskins, they covered their tipis with government-issue canvas.

Each Friday, cattle were butchered at the slaughterhouse, 657 and each Saturday the Indians trekked toward the agency to receive their weekly rations. Each family head carried a cardboard ration ticket bearing his name and the number of persons in his family. One ration was considered a day's food for one person—man, woman, or child; therefore a man and wife with three children were entitled to thirty-five rations a week. The Indians were warned not to lose their precious ration tickets. Some men carried their tickets in little leather cases tied around [415] their necks at the end of skin cords.

When the family head received his rations, a clerk punched his ticket and checked his name off the long, printed ration roll of the agency. Meat, always the main item in Blackfoot diet, was 657 rationed at one and one-half pounds per person per day. A daily 262 ration also included one-half pound of flour. Other foodstuffs were distributed in smaller quantities: a pound of bacon for every ten rations; a pound of coffee for every twenty-five rations;

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[2] Adam White Man and Louis Bear Child, Piegan informants, pointed out [115] to me in 1951 the locations of Piegan bands on Badger Creek in the period immediately following buffalo extermination.

● 657 and three pounds of beans, eight pounds of sugar, and one pound 262 of soda and of salt for every one hundred rations. With every one hundred rations a half-pound of tobacco was issued.[8]

The hides of cattle killed to provide the Indians' meat were 657 given to the Indian women on ration day. In some weeks as 237 many as fifty hides were distributed, never more than half a [283] hide to any woman. The women made rawhide rope and containers from these hides, just as they had made similar articles [415] of buffalo hide in earlier days. They also cut moccasin soles from cattle rawhide to make a hard-soled moccasin which was be- 237 coming the most popular type of Blackfoot footgear. It wore [291] much longer than the traditional soft-soled moccasin. On the other hand, commercial leather was replacing rawhide for saddle rigging, belts, cartridge cases, and ration ticket pouches.

531 Since the middle seventies, Blackfoot women's crafts had been undergoing marked changes. About the time the agency was 178 moved northward from the Teton River (1876), some Piegan Indian women who were married to white men began to employ little glass beads, known as seed beads, in their beadwork. These beads were only about half the size of the beads women had been accustomed to use in their embroidery. But they were [294] available in a much wider range of colors. They were sewn to the basic skin or cloth material by taking stitches between every second or third bead, giving the finished beadwork a neat, flat appearance. It wasn't long before other Piegan women were imitating this new style of beadwork. By the middle eighties the earlier "big beads" were rarely employed except in the decoration of women's dresses. The Indian wives of white men have also been credited with introducing new beadwork designs—fine-line curved motifs and floral patterns. These, too, were admired and copied by most other Blackfoot Indian beadworkers.

[237] So popular had seed beads and the new designs become by the middle eighties that the younger generation of beaders began

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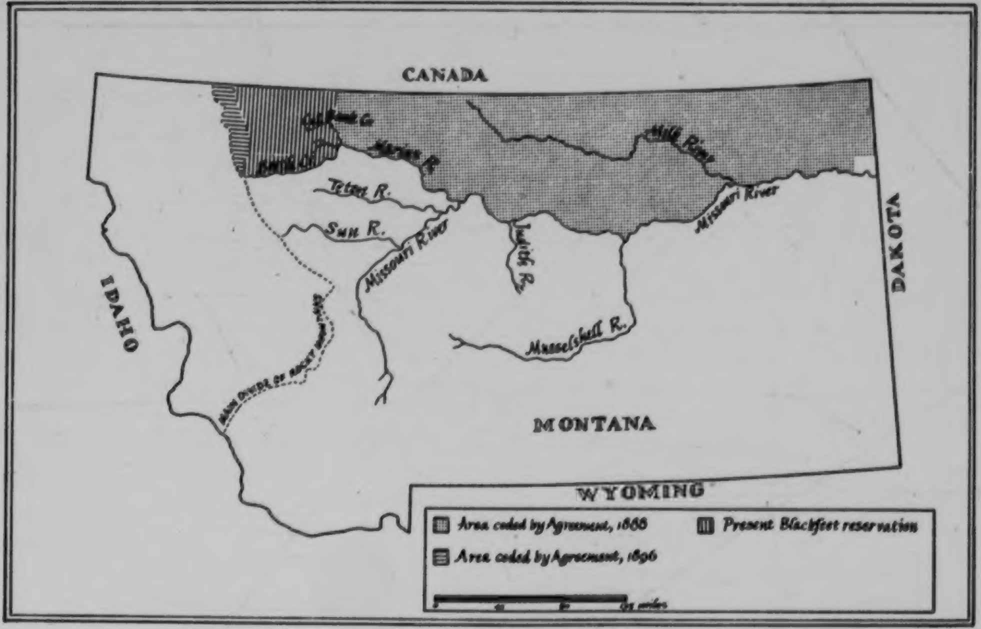
[127] [8] Data from Blackfeet Agency Ration Rolls of 1887, in the Blackfeet Archives, Museum of the Plains Indian.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[p. 305]


CANADA
Cut Bank Cr.
Birch Cr.
Marias R.
Milk River
Teton R.
Sun R.
Missouri River
Judith R.
Missouri River
Musselshell R.
MAIN DIVIDE OF ROCKY MOUNTAINS
IDAHO
DAKOTA
MONTANA
WYOMING
▦ Area ceded by Agreement, 1888
▤ Area ceded by Agreement, 1896
▥ Present Blackfeet reservation
miles

Blackfoot Lands in Montana from 1875 to the present time.

1071
1931
1933
657

[ca. 1880-1900]

823 that portion of the ceded area over which their buffalo hunting parties used to roam. The Blackfeet Reservation established
657 under the terms of this agreement,^A comprised the westernmost
131 portion of their former reservation. Its eastern boundary followed the main channel of Cut Bank Creek, from its mouth upstream for a distance of twenty miles, thence in a line due northward to the Canadian boundary. The new reservation was bounded on the north by the international line, on the west by the summit of the Rockies, and on the south by Birch Creek.
657 It was still a large area in proportion to the number of Indians
[161] residing upon it. Its 1,760,000 acres provided an equivalent of 775 acres for each man, woman, and child among the Piegans of Montana. When their agent stated that "this reservation gives them sufficient land for all their wants," his conclusion must have sounded reasonable to both whites and Indians.[13]

648 In return for the land relinquished by the Indians, the government agreed to spent $150,000 annually for a period of ten
657 years to purchase livestock, agricultural and mechanical implements, goods, clothing, and subsistence, to provide for the education of the Indian children, to furnish medical care, to build a new agency, schools, and shops, to assist the Indians in building homes and enclosing their farms, and "to promote their civilization, comfort and improvement."

As an incentive to Indian industry, the agreement further provided that in the distribution of livestock, goods, clothing, agricultural implements, and the like, "preference shall be given to Indians who endeavor by honest labor to support themselves, and especially to those who in good faith undertake the cultivation of the soil or engage in pastoral pursuits as a means of obtaining a livelihood."[14]

241 Congress approved the agreement on May 1, 1888. That very spring some of the Piegan bands, encouraged by the government's promise to reward industry, moved northward from Badger Creek. They broke 150 acres of land on Two Medicine River

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[13] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888, 150.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1888, 302-19. Contains full text of this agreement.

A [i.e., the agreement with the U.S government of 1887--Analyst]

and about 70 acres on Cut Bank Creek, and planted oats, potatoes, 241
and barley.[15] The old Indian pattern of residence in bands
began to give way to the rural white man's practice of individual 361
family residence. The Indian families built their homes along 177
the streams near water and timber.

A delegation of Piegan leaders traveled to Washington and 657
asked the Great White Father to spend a goodly portion of their 233
new annuities for cattle and large horses. In 1890 some one thousand
heifers and twenty-five bulls were issued, and the Piegans
got their start as cattlemen. Many of them who had shown no
interest in farming found herding cattle enjoyable work. It wasn't
unlike caring for horses. More cattle were distributed in subsequent
years. By 1896 there were more than five hundred different
brands on the reservation stock book. The Great Northern Railway, 497
which was built across the center of the reservation in the
early nineties, offered a ready outlet to market for the Indians'
cattle. In 1895 they shipped $30,000 worth of prime beef steers
to Chicago. By 1896 the Indians were operating two hundred 233
mowing machines to cut wild hay for winter cattle feed.[16] 407

During the late eighties and early nineties large stallions were
given owners of Indian ponies to breed with their small mares 231
in order to obtain stronger farm animals capable of pulling a plow
or a wagon. The fullbloods could not forget that their people
used to measure a man's wealth in horses. They counted their
colts sired by big Morgan stallions as they were born to their
Indian pony mares. The little Indian pony was disappearing,
but the Indians' horse herds were increasing rapidly. Some men 231
specialized in horses of particular colors and bragged of their 556
hundreds of whites, browns, or pintos. Owl Child, one of the
most successful Piegan stockmen of this period, was very proud
of his large horse herd. He owned nearly five hundred head of
cattle, worth much more than his horses, but he never mentioned
them in his bragging.

Five hundred wagons were issued to the Piegans in the early 493

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[15] *Ibid.*, 1888, 151.

[16] *Ibid.*, 1896, 176–77.

[ca. 1880-1900]

797 from Christian missionaries. In 1890 the census estimated that "5 per cent of these Indians are Roman Catholics and the others are sun worshipers."[19] Not until three years later was a permanent Protestant mission established on the reservation. Then Rev. and Mrs. Dutcher built a Methodist church on Willow Creek near the boarding school.

177 Meanwhile, some of the agents charged with the difficult task of reporting the Indians' progress toward civilization were not
657 satisfied with the results they could obtain by example and persuasion alone. They offered bribes or threatened punishments in their efforts to destroy the symbols of the Indians' savage life
177 which were distasteful to them. Disregarding the time-honored
796 American principle of freedom of religion, they directed their attack primarily against the Indians' tribal ceremonial, the sun
657 dance. In 1887 Agent Baldwin ordered members of the Indian Police not to participate in or to encourage this ceremony. He exacted a pledge of each Indian who received a brood mare from the government that he would take no part in the sun dance. Consequently, there was no sun dance the following summer.[20]
177 Major Baldwin also pointed with pride to the fact that he had
657 required all members of the Indian Police to cut their hair and to "abstain from the objectionable habit of painting their faces."[21]
[302] Friends of the Indians prevailed upon Washington officials to remove this hostile agent.

[796] Yet, six years later, Captain Lorenzo Cook, another strict disciplinarian, ordered two sun dance lodges used in previous years to be torn down and the timbers used for erecting branding cor-
[533] rals. He prohibited not only the sun dance but "Indian mourning,
765 beating the tom-tom, gambling, and wearing Indian costumes"
525 as well. And he tried to discourage "less pernicious practices such as horse racing." Captain Cook even asked the traders not to
291 stock the paints Indians used for painting their faces.[22] Short
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[19] *Report of Indians Taxed and Not Taxed*, U. S. Bureau of Census, 360.

[20] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1888, 151–52.

[21] Mark D. Baldwin to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 1, 1886, Indian Office Records.

[22] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1894, 159.

[ca. 1880-1900]

Short
Face, one of my elderly informants, recalled that this unsympa- 177
thetic agent sentenced Indians who cut off their fingers in mourn- 657
ing or built a sweat lodge to thirty days in jail. He even threat- 689
ened to jail women who did beadwork.

Such efforts to force the Indians to abandon their traditional 177
ceremonies and customs served only to rouse the Indians' resent-
ment. After the persecuting agents were replaced, the Piegans 657
resumed the forbidden practices with even greater zeal. Under
less hostile agents they revived and continued the sun dance, 177
making only one concession to the interests of the whites. They 796
moved the ceremony ahead several weeks so it would coincide
with the white man's July 4 holiday season. In 1900 boys were
playing hooky from Willow Creek School to visit the picturesque
sun dance encampment near by.[23]

Often visitors from neighboring tribes formerly hostile to the
Blackfeet visited the sun dance encampment. These visits were 177
accompanied by exchanges of gifts between the visitors and
their hosts. The Assiniboins from the east gave the Piegans shiny 431
catlinite pipe bowls, beautifully made buckskin suits decorated [276]
with porcupine quillwork, and breastplates and necklaces of [292]
bone hairpipes. Piegan women admired the feather designs em- [301]
ployed in Assiniboin quillwork and copied them in their own [531]
beadwork. The Assiniboins also gave some Piegan men flowing
feather bonnets of the Sioux type, which became very popular 177
with Blackfoot leaders for ceremonial wear and for dress-parade
headgear. By the turn of the century, some Piegan men were 292
making these bonnets as skillfully as the Sioux craftsmen. The
traditional straight-up bonnet of the Blackfeet was becoming
obsolete.

From the Assiniboins in the mid-nineties the Piegans also ac- 177
quired the grass dance, a lively, young men's social dance with 535
its associated paraphernalia of deer hair roaches and hawk bells
which jingled merrily as the dancers cavorted.

Friendly Crow Indians gave the Piegans moccasins and pen- 177
dants of human hair which could be worn by a short-haired In- 291
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[23] *Ibid.*, 1900, 267.

[ca. 1880-1900]

177 dian on dress occasions to create the impression that his hair
[291] was long. The Crows also transferred one of their sacred cere-
[302] monies, which the Piegans called the "Crow Water Beaver Cere-
[796] mony." It became so popular that the Montana Piegans taught
it to their North Piegan relatives in Canada in 1905.[24]

From west of the Rockies, the formerly hostile Flatheads, Ku-
177 tenais, and Nez Percés brought cornhusk-and-yarn flat pouches
237 and many well-dressed deerskins and elk hides. In return, the
[415] Piegans gave their western friends beautifully beaded men's
suits and women's dresses. Piegan women readily acknowledged
the superior skill of the Flatheads and Kutenais in dressing skins.
By the turn of the century they were obtaining the great ma-
jority of the skins employed in their own craftwork in trade or
[281] by gift from those overmountain tribes. Very few Piegan women
bothered to continue the arduous labor of fleshing, scraping, and
softening buckskin.

541 It was like old times for the Piegans to gather for a few weeks in summer, set up their tipis, take off their white men's somber garments and don their colorful Indian clothes, paint their faces, gamble on horse races and in the stick game, enjoy social dances, and, above all, to experience once again the religious stimulation of the great tribal sun dance. Women made handsome costumes for their menfolk and other fine craftwork for presents to visitors
[555] from other tribes. Their rivalry as craftswomen was no less keen
than was that of their menfolk, who bragged of their fine herds of horses and their success as cattlemen.

● 657 After the Indians spread out along the valleys of their reservation, many of them found it inconvenient to travel south to Badger Creek for their weekly rations. The agent found his headquarters poorly located for administering to the needs of his far-flung Indians. His agency had become an obsolete stockade of rotting logs. So in 1894 the agent and chiefs selected a new site nearer the center of the reservation, on Willow Creek, some two miles from the new railroad. There twenty-two new

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[24] McClintock, *The Old North Trail*, 407–10. Describes this ceremony at the time of its transfer to the North Piegans.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1880-1900]

buildings were erected, among them a hospital and a modern slaughterhouse. The new agency was occupied in the spring of 1895. 657

In the early nineties the Blackfoot agent was constantly bothered by white prospectors who were invading the westernmost 648 portion of the reservation in search of precious minerals, and by Indians who complained that these whites were stealing their gold. This mountainous area was of little value to the Indians for grazing or farming. Agent George Steel, in 1893, recommended that the mountainous strip be sold and the proceeds placed to the credit of the Indians as an additional fund for their support and maintenance.[25]

During the month of September, 1895, three commissioners met with the Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation to negotiate an agreement for the sale of this western strip. They found the Indian leaders again asked $3,000,000 for the strip of land the whites wanted. They offered $1,250,000. A compromise was finally reached in which the Indians were allowed $1,500,000 in addition to the right to hunt, fish, and cut timber in the mountainous area as long as it remained public lands of the United States. The provisions of this agreement were very similar to those of the treaty negotiated in 1887. In effect, they provided a continuation of government expenditures at the rate of $150,000 per year for another decade after the expiration of the payments under the terms of the previous agreement.

The agreement acknowledged that the Blackfeet Reservation was "wholly unfit for agriculture," but since the Indians demonstrated their ability to raise cattle, "and there is every probability that they will become self-supporting by attention to this industry," the whole reservation was to be held by these Indians as a communal grazing tract during the period of the agreement.[26]

When the ceded strip was opened to prospectors under the

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[25] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1893, 173.

[26] Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, I, 604–609. Contains full text of this agreement.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[ca. 1880-1900]

At the turn of the century these Indians were still receiving weekly rations. But their valiant struggle and their solid accomplishments in the recent past caused competent officials to be very optimistic regarding their future. James H. Monteith, their agent, confidently predicted, "As to this particular tribe, it can with proper management be made self-supporting in a few years."[28] 177 [657]

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[28] *Ibid.*, 1900, 265.

[1900-1950]

best for his children. The Indian agent, not the chiefs, would 648
be the Moses who would lead his children out of the bondage
of ignorance and poverty into the promised land of knowledge
and prosperity. There was no place in that system for the tra- [622]
ditional pattern of Indian leadership. Consequently, the position
of head chief was abandoned after the death of White Calf in
1903. Indian achievement of a way of life like that of rural
whites was the goal toward which the planners were striving.
That many of the Indians, especially the fullbloods, cherished [177]
attitudes, beliefs, and customs which were quite unlike those of
whites did not seem important to the policy makers of the time.

Many factors conspired to impede the Indians' progress toward 657
the goal set for them. Elaborate and costly programs devised by whites failed to rouse the interest and co-operation of Indians who were supposed to benefit from them. Frequent changes in agents provided fitful and sometimes very weak local leadership, while white men covetous of the Indians' land exploited this weakness to gain possession of some of the best land on the reservation. Finally, the vagaries of the weather—prolonged summer droughts and harsh winter storms—nullified the best laid plans of men.

During the first decade of this century irrigation came to be 657
regarded as the magic formula for the agricultural development 241
of the low rainfall areas of the west. Oblivious to the fact that 312
the Blackfoot Indians had shown little desire to make their living by growing crops, the planners embarked upon the construction of extensive irrigation projects on their Montana reservation
in 1908. For several years hundreds of Indian men found em- [464]
ployment on these construction projects. Even though much of
the equipment was strange to them, they learned to use it and did well in their work. They enjoyed working for regular daily
wages. But when the projects were completed, very few Indians 657
could be induced to farm the irrigated lands. When Frank Knox, 241
a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, visited the Blackfeet Reservation in 1926, he found that Indians were farming only 306 acres, or a little over 1 per cent of the 21,341 acres

657 that had been brought into these projects at a cost of more than
241 $1,100,000. He termed the irrigation experiment on the Blackfeet
Reservation "a monument to the unthinking enthusiasm
with which this country 20 years ago embarked upon its reclamation
projects."[3] It was no less of a monument to the futility of
planning the economic future of the Indians without regard
for the Indians' own habits and desires.

423 Prior to 1907 the Blackfoot Indians owned the land on their
Montana reservation in common. Then, in keeping with the national
425 policy of placing Indians upon individually owned lands,
Congress ordered the reservation to be surveyed and land allotted
to each member of the tribe. Allotment proceeded slowly.
In the year 1912 it was completed. Each of the 2,623 Indians
living on the reservation during the allotment period had received
320 acres, held in trust for him by the government. Each
Indian was given the option of receiving 40 acres of irrigable
land and 280 acres of grazing land, or of taking his entire 320
acres in grazing land. The persistent prejudice of many Indians
against farming was again demonstrated by their avoidance of
lands within the irrigated projects.[4]

233 By the middle-teens it was becoming clear to the planners,
as it had been to their predecessors two decades earlier, that
the Blackfeet Reservation was better adapted to the raising of
livestock than for farming. A considerable number of the progressive
mixed-bloods and some of the fullbloods were prospering
427 as cattlemen. But the unprogressive and the shiftless, as well
as the aged and physically handicapped, leased their allotted
lands to white stockmen and tried to live on their meager returns
655 in lease money. To encourage the able-bodied men of this
233 latter group to raise cattle on their own land, the government
[422] purchased 1,888 head of cattle to form a tribal herd. But the
fullbloods, who had always considered livestock in terms of individual
possessions, showed little interest in the tribal herd. They
acted as if it belonged to someone else. As an object lesson in

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[3] Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1926, 30.

[4] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1912, 59.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[1900-1950]

stock raising and as an incentive to cattle raising among the less 655
ambitious fullbloods, this experiment was a failure, even during 233
the few years that it was a financial success.[5]

For a brief period during World War I, when cattle prices 233
were high, the reservation cattlemen prospered. In 1918 the
Blackfoot Indians led those of most other western reservations 433
in the purchase of Liberty Bonds. Then disaster struck. Two years of summer drought withered the crops in the fields. No hay could be cut for winter feed. The reservation range became overstocked. When the dry summer of 1919 was followed by one of the severest winters on record, thousands of weak, underfed cattle and horses froze to death. White settlers on lands in northern Montana suffered along with the Indians. Many of them abandoned their homes and sought employment elsewhere. But the Indians had no other place to go. They were wiped out.

By 1920 most of the Blackfoot Indians had little left but their 423
land. And some of them had lost even that. Two years before, authority had been granted to convert the trust patents of those Indians who were declared competent to fee patents, which would permit landholders to sell or otherwise dispose of their
land. These patents were issued to debt-ridden, illiterate In- 425
dians, who became easy prey for white land-seekers, who acquired some of the best land on the reservation at a fraction of its value. When Walter W. Liggett investigated the affairs of the Blackfeet Reservation for the Committee on Indian Affairs of the United States Senate a decade later, he reported that "210,000 acres of land formerly owned by the Indians has passed into the possession of white men after the Indians were granted fee patents. . . . There is no doubt at all that scores of these patents were issued illegally to Indians incompetent in fact as well as in the eyes of the law. In nearly every case the issuance of the patent meant that the Indian was defrauded of his land."[6]

Liggett learned that these land frauds were but the culmina- 657

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[5] Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1918, 28.

[6] *Survey of Conditions of Indians in the United States*, 70 Cong., 2 sess., *Senate Resolution No. 79*, 12747–48.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

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657 tion of a decade of weak and ineffective local administration of Indian affairs: "No less than seven different individuals acted as superintendents from 1910 to 1921 . . . and no less than three of these superintendents were dismissed from the Indian Service, one later landed in the penitentiary and another hurriedly left Browning to avoid indictment."[7]

When General Hugh L. Scott visited the Blackfoot Reservation in the fall of 1920, he was appalled by the rundown condition of the agency and the poverty of the Indians. The blind and helpless old people were given only twelve pounds of meat, together with a little flour, beans, and coffee for a month's rations.[8] During the winter of 1920–21, two-thirds of the Indians on this reservation were again dependent upon government rations for their daily bread. It was a humiliating experience for men who had prided themselves on their success as stockmen barely two years before. At no time since the starvation winter of 1883–84 had the future of the Blackfoot Indians looked so hopeless.

Then in the spring of 1921 an energetic, sympathetic superintendent took charge. It was no easy task to try to restore the pride and initiative of the discouraged Blackfoot people and to try to interest them in still another economic program. But Frank C. Campbell, accompanied by the agency doctor and farmer, visited every Indian family in its own home and discussed its economic and social problems. Then he inaugurated what became known as the Five-Year Industrial Program for the Blackfeet Reservation. Its beginnings were modest indeed. In the first year about 40 per cent of the Indians were induced to plant vegetable gardens and 25 per cent to plant small fields of grain. With the co-operation of the Indians, Campbell organized the Piegan Farming and Livestock Association, with twenty-nine chapters in the various reservation communities. Several district community houses were built as centers for social life, and an

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[7] *Ibid.*, 12748.

[8] Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1921, 54–57.

657 179 annual fair was instituted to encourage improvement in the quality of farm products and of such women's work as home canning, needlework, and beadwork. As the program expanded, a flour mill was built, agricultural machinery purchased in limited quantities, and small numbers of pigs, chickens, and sheep were acquired by individual Indian families.

657 796 Prior to Campbell's superintendency, the tribal sun dance encampment had occupied a full month of the Indians' time at a crucial period in early summer when they should have been home tending to their crops or livestock. Campbell was sympathetic toward the Indians' religious traditions, but he was also a practical man. He and the Indians worked out a compromise. Instead of a single tribal sun dance there would be three of them in three districts of the reservation. Each family would attend the ceremony held nearest its home. The encampment would be of a single week's duration. Even then, Big Lodge Pole insisted on bringing his cow, chickens, and pigs to the 1923 encampment in his district, saying that he did not want to neglect his stock, but did not want to miss the sun dance either. Every evening he sent one of his sons on horseback to make sure that his crops were doing all right back home.

657 179 The Five-year Program achieved its greatest success among the older and middle-aged fullbloods who took pride in being able to feed themselves and their families through their own labors in small-scale farming operations. The modest accomplishments of some of them were widely publicized. Thus, by the fall of the second year of the Five-year Program, it could be said of Bull Calf, president of the Bull Calf Chapter:

> This old man has a married son living on the place with him and they work together. They have three stacks of hay, wheat enough for their flour and for seed; also some oats. They have a good root-house full of potatoes, and other vegetables. They were laying in their winter's supply of wood and had a few loads already hauled.

[1900-1950]

657 Another report, on a member of the Bull Shoe Chapter, read:

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> Ed Running Crane, secretary of the Bull Shoe Chapter, produced 53 sacks of oats. He had a new chicken house and 19 chickens. He also had a small band of sheep and a milk heifer. He had 37 sacks of potatoes, and some rutabagas, carrots, beets, etc., in his root-house. He had recently constructed a new outside toilet.[9]

On his visit to the Blackfeet Reservation in August, 1922, General Scott "was much pleased to find a complete reversal of the bad conditions which were encountered there two years ago." He concluded that "Supt. Campbell . . . has awakened the spirit of the Blackfeet people."[10]

After his inspection of conditions on this reservation in 1925, Frank Knox was enthusiastic about the results achieved in the Five-year Program.

> Nowhere else in the Indian Service have I encountered among the Indians themselves a more hopeful, forward-looking spirit, characterized by self-respect and self-reliance, than that which I met on this reservation. The application of the same principles adopted and pursued by Supt. Campbell throughout the Indian Service would be a God-send, and speedily provide a solution to most of the perplexities of the service.[11]

Nevertheless, the Five-year Program failed to hold the enthusiasm of the ambitious mixed-bloods on the Blackfeet Reservation itself. One of them told me that he had participated energetically in the program, but had become discouraged when a well-meaning official patted him on the back and said, "You're making fine progress. In ten more years you should be independent." The mixed-bloods were not satisfied just to feed themselves and their families. They wanted farming or livestock

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[9] "The Five-Year Program on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation," *The Indian Leader*, Vol. XXVI, No. 25.

[10] Reports of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1923, 47.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1926, 29.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[1900-1950]

operations on a large enough scale to bring them a cash return. 657
They were unhappy with the limited credit provisions of the program, which prevented its rapid expansion. They were impatient with the frequent and time-consuming chapter meetings, which were geared to the understanding of the less sophisticated fullbloods. 179

In the late twenties the Industrial Program foundered under the growing opposition of the discontented mixed-bloods, the less enthusiastic leadership of Campbell's successors, and the impact of nationwide depression. Many of the younger people preferred the small cash returns from work on federal relief projects to subsistence farming. Agricultural Extension Agent Earl Stinson's report for the year 1934 indicated the official abandonment of the objectives of the Campbell program. At that time only 138 Indians were self-supporting, while 747 families had to be assisted through distribution of rations and relief. The average family income amounted to but $150, exclusive of relief payments. Despairing of the possibility of the Indians' growing grain on a commercial basis, Stinson proclaimed, "Livestock in large enough numbers will be the only way the Blackfeet will ever be self-supporting."[12] [434]

It was in that year of 1934 that Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, which provided a new national policy in Indian administration. This new legislation halted the piecemeal disposal of the Indians' land, such as had been taking place on the Blackfeet Reservation since fee patents were issued in 1918. It provided for the conservation of reservation resources in grass, soil, timber, and water. It extended credit to Indian individuals who sought to start or expand livestock or farming operations. And it gave to Indian tribes a voice in the management of their own affairs such as the Blackfeet had not enjoyed since the disappearance of the buffalo half a century earlier. 657

The Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation were among the first tribes to organize under the provisions of this act. Their 642

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[12] Agricultural Extension Agent's Report, December 31, 1934. (Typescript on file in the Blackfeet Agency.)

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[1900-1950]

642 Their
new constitution declared that all persons of Indian blood whose
[641] names appeared on the official census roll of the tribe as of January 1, 1935, as well as all children born of any blood member
of the tribe maintaining legal residence on the reservation at the
time of such birth, were considered members of the Blackfeet
[643] Tribe. A Tribal Council of thirteen members, elected semiannually by residents of the various districts or communities on
the reservation, was empowered to manage tribal property and
money, to regulate law and order on the reservation (except for
certain major crimes), to supervise the preservation of reservation wildlife, and to encourage Indian arts and crafts, culture,
and traditions.

433 In spite of continued national economic depression, the condition of the Blackfoot Indians improved under the new Indian
[426] policy. Revolving credit loans enabled Blackfoot stockmen to
increase their cattle and sheep holdings nearly fourfold between
433 the years 1933 and 1941. By 1943 the average family income
among the Blackfeet had risen to $1,320. Seventy-five families
434 had agricultural incomes in excess of $1,500. However, 112
●657 households received direct relief in December of that year.
Nearly three-fourths of those families were fullbloods.[13]

702 During World War II, hundreds of young men and women,
descendants of generations of Blackfoot Indian warriors, answered their country's call to service in the armed forces. Before
726 they left the reservation, many of those who enlisted or were
drafted were feasted by their relatives while aged veterans of
the intertribal wars sang their sacred war songs and prayed for
the young men's success. Parents of full-blood servicemen were
comforted by the age-old Blackfoot saying, "It is better for a
man to be killed in battle than to die of old age or sickness."
722 Those who remained at home purchased war bonds, formed an
active War Mothers' Club, and performed the sacred sun dance
in honor of their loved ones whose lives were in danger overseas.

726 Blackfoot Indians served with distinction beside non-Indian

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[13] Freal H. McBride, Ten-Year Program for the Blackfeet Indian Agency, 1944. (Mimeographed copy in Museum of the Plains Indian.)

434 index fails to point out the number of Indians who had virtually no earned income, or the number of successful Indians whose earnings from livestock operations or wages far exceeded the family average.

433 It is difficult to generalize on the subject of Blackfoot Indian
economic progress during the first half of the twentieth century.
Certainly the rapid progress toward self-support which their
white friends prophesied for these Indians at the turn of the
433 century did not materialize. One of the causes for this failure
was surely the lack of any consistent government policy for these
● 657 people. The vacillating policy of alternately encouraging the
Indians to farm, then to raise livestock, was confusing to the
Indians who participated in these programs. It was not surprising
that many of them lost enthusiasm for government-sponsored
programs presented as panaceas for their economic ills.

433 Indians, like other people, vary in individual ability, initiative, and diligence. Some became discouraged as a result of early failures, and lost heart. Others profited from those experiences and tried to work all the harder. So economic success or failure has been more of an individual than a tribal matter. Before the middle of the century, many of the Blackfoot Indians did "learn to walk alone." Many others are no better off economically than were their fathers or grandfathers half a century ago.

563 The most remarkable trend in the history of these Indians
during the first half of this century has been the rapid growth
162 in the mixed-blood element of the population. As recently as
1910, fullbloods comprised a majority of the tribal membership.
In the next two decades the numbers of the mixed-bloods nearly
doubled, while the full-blood population decreased by more
than 15 per cent. By 1930 the mixed-bloods comprised two-thirds
of the Indian population of the reservation and nearly three-
quarters of the most vigorous portion of that population—those
under forty years of age.[16] By mid-century the mixed-bloods
numbered 85 per cent of the tribal membership of nearly six

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[16] *The Indian Population of the United States and Alaska, 1930*, U. S. Bureau of Census, 73, 76.

493 shift travois could be constructed of cottonwood poles if no lodgepole
pine was handy. However, cottonwood generally was considered too
398 easily split to make good travois shafts. It is noteworthy that the
Blackfoot never developed any method of capping or binding the
base ends of travois shafts to prevent wear and splintering.

CARE OF THE TRAVOIS IN CAMP

493 Horse travois, like dog travois, sometimes were piled together in
conical piles, base ends down, to keep dogs from chewing at the
leather parts. More commonly, each travois was propped at an angle,
base end down, by a single long pole support, as illustrated by the
[417] early photograph, plate 5, *a*. It could then be used as a stage for
drying meat, or as a sun shelter covered with buffalo robes or skins,
that could be turned with the daily movement of the sun. Beaver
and medicine pipe bundle owners generally leaned their travois
against the back of the lodge in order to hang their sacred bundles
upon them during the day. The travois served women as a stepladder in the erection and taking down of the lodge. A woman leaned
it against the front of the lodge and climbed upon the loading platform to place or extract the topmost pins used to hold the lodge cover
together.

SURVIVAL OF THE HORSE TRAVOIS

493 The Government began to issue wagons to the Montana Blackfoot prior to 1893. In that year Agent Steele reported the issuance
●657 of 35 wagons, and added that about 300 were then in use by the Indians of that reservation (U. S. Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1893, p. 172).
In the following year Captain Cooke, the new agent, issued 150
wagons, believing that all heads of families were then provided with
these vehicles. However, he stated that the wagons issued were
not suitable for the service required of them (U. S. Comm. Ind.
Affairs, 1894, p. 160). My informants recalled that those early
Government issue wagons were narrow gage, with thin spokes like
a buggy and of rather weak construction. They would not stand
493 the hard treatment the Indians gave them. The inadequacy of these
[177] wagons, combined with poor roads, often muddy and deeply rutted,
encouraged the retention of the travois until the 20th century.
Wissler (1910, pp. 88–91) mentioned travois use in the first decade of
this century for hauling wood. Joseph Sherburne recalled that the
Indians brought travois to Browning to haul food and supplies from
the traders' stores until 1902 or 1904. Ceremonial use by the medicine
woman in the Piegan Sun Dance survived until at least 1909 (personal
communication from the late Walter McClintock). In recent years
horse travois have been made for display in the Fourth of July parade
at Browning and have occasionally been employed for hauling wood
in rough country where wagons could not be used. Reuben and Cecile

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

II. Origin and Early Movements*

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The origin of the Blackfoot is one of the puzzling problems in the history of the northern Plains. Unlike the Plains Cree, the Cheyenne, Gros Ventre and Sarsi, who moved out into the Plains from surrounding regions in the historic period, the previous location of the Blackfoot has not been established. Wissler has dealt with this subject at various times. Writing in 1906 he stated, "The Blackfoot . . . presumably came out of the wooded lake area to the east into the open country of the west, as did their kindred the Arapaho and Cheyenne, where they gradually adopted the culture of the Sioux tribes."[13] Again, in 1908, he stated that it seemed certain that the Blackfoot migrated from the region of the Great Lakes, which he believed to be the center of dispersion of the Algonkian speaking people of the Plains.[14] In 1910, after a detailed examination of some of the available historical sources he concluded that, ". . . no satisfactory evidence has come to hand that the Blackfoot ever occupied other definite territory than their historic habitat, the western Plains."[15] Although this was written before the publication of David Thompson's *Narrative* (1916) and the *Kelsey Papers* (1929) it remains true today with but minor modifications.

Hyde, in the most recent study of the subject (1933) supports Wissler's earlier hypothesis and enlarges upon it. ". . . early in the 17th century the Red River country and the lands lying immediately west of Lake Winnipeg were held by Algonkin and Siouan tribes, most of whom were partly sedentary, dwelling in earth lodges, making pottery, planting corn and other crops. Among these people we may include the three Blackfoot tribes. . . ."[16] While we know that the Blackfoot had pottery[17] and a vague

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* The Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan tribes are at present time located on four reserves, of which three are in Alberta, Canada, and one in Montana. In pre-reserve days they roamed the Plains near the foothills of the mountains from the northern branches of the Missouri to the North Saskatchewan. To avoid confusion we shall use the Blackfoot term "Siksika" to refer to the Northern Blackfoot, and the term Blackfoot to refer to all three tribes. (457) (131) (128)

[13] Clark Wissler, "The Blackfoot Indians," *Annual Archeological Report* (Ontario Provincial Museum, 1905), p. 162.

[14] Wissler, "Ethnographic Problems of the Missouri-Saskatchewan Area," *A.A.*, Vol. 10, p. 199.

[15] Wissler, "Material Culture of the Blackfoot Indians," *AMNH-AP*, Vol. 5, p. 18.

[16] George E. Hyde, "The Early Blackfoot and Their Neighbors," p. 6.

[17] Matthew Cocking's Journal—1772-1773, *Royal Society of Canada. Proc. and Trans.*, Vol. 1, pp. 111.

10: Lewis E-4 (no date) 1973 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

APPENDIX

PRE-RESERVE BLACKFOOT RELATIONS WITH THE AMERICAN AND CANADIAN GOVERNMENTS*

United States

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The United States government first concerned itself about its western Indians in order to advance American trading interests on the Upper Missouri. When in 1824, Indian agents were appointed for the Indian tribes of the Upper Missouri, they were for the first time within reach of Blackfoot country. It was not until 1834 that an official agent of the government met with the Blackfoot.[1] Indian agents at this time were working in the interest, if not in the employ, of the American Fur Company. Until the 1850's, meetings of Indian agents with the Blackfoot were sporadic. The agents limited their activities to the trading posts where they occasionally distributed goods to the Blackfoot in the name of the Great Father at Washington.[2] There was thus from the beginning an association of the fur companies and the government in the minds of the Indians.

The movement of settlers to the west, which had begun in the thirties reached great proportions by 1850. The increase in the number of immigrants led to plans for the construction of a trans-continental railroad. Before this could be undertaken the inter-tribal warfare between the Blackfoot, Crow, Gros Ventre, Flathead, Nez Perce and Kutenai, had to be stopped. Gov. Isaac Stevens, who headed the railroad survey, therefore began a series of peace councils with the Indians of the northern Plains which led to the signing of the treaty of 1855 with the Blackfoot, otherwise known as the Judith Treaty.[3]

In this treaty Blackfoot territory from the valleys of the Three Forks of the Missouri River, east to the upper waters of the Yellowstone, an area of 30,000 square miles, was set aside as a common hunting ground for the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre. The country north of this common hunting

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* Since the differential treatment of the Blackfoot by the American and Canadian fur companies was paralleled by their treatment at the hands of the American and Canadian governments, we will trace the relations of the Blackfoot with both governments up to the reserve period.

[1] Chardon's Journal, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. xxxviii.

[3] A. W. Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and their Administration*, p. 101.

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ground as far as the Canadian boundary and east and south as far as the Musselshell River, and north of the Missouri to its junction with the Milk River was defined as the territory of the Blackfoot nation. The United States government was to guard the Indians against whiskey traders, attacks by white men, and any abrogation of their treaty rights. The United States further agreed to spend $20,000 a year for ten years in goods and provisions for the Piegan, Blood and Gros Ventre, and $15,000 each year for ten years to establish and instruct them in agriculture and mechanical pursuits, education and Christianization.[4] This treaty was ratified in 1856.

The Annual Reports of the Indian Bureau indicate that the annuities were peaceably distributed in the years following, but much of the goods received had no relation to the needs of the Indians. One agent wrote,

> "I would respectfully recommend that the following be dispensed with altogether . . . calico, ½ of the coffee, fish hooks and lines, combs, thread, . . . and that there be substituted . . . shirts, bed-ticking, flour, powder ball . . . "[5]

These requests were sent in year after year but for the most part went unheeded. There were some feeble attempts to introduce farming and cattle grazing, to which the Indians were definitely not receptive. From 1855 to 1860 there was little change in the conduct of the Indians. The older men tried to abide by the treaty stipulations but the warriors continued on the war path.[6]

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Until 1860 the penetration of Blackfoot country by white settlers had been gradual. Routes to the Pacific lay south of the Blackfoot and did not directly affect them. However, the cattle ranching which had been going on near Fort Bridger since the 1840's now began to push north into Blackfoot country. The discovery of gold in 1862 at Grasshopper Creek, within the common hunting grounds of the Blackfoot and Gros Ventre brought still another invasion. Immigrants now came by the thousands and towns sprang up almost overnight. By May 26, 1864, the territory of Montana was created.[7]

There now began a period of bitter conflict between the Blackfoot and the settlers. The low type of American frontiersmen were largely responsible. Of these, General Sully, Superintendent of Indians in the Territory of Montana said, "There is a white element in this country which from its rowdy and lawless character cannot be excelled in any section."[8]

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 115.

[5] *United States Indian Affairs Office, Annual Report*, 1857/58, p. 82.

[6] Ibid., 1858/59, p. 116.

[7] Briggs, Frontiers of the Northwest, pp. 161–162, 185–186.

[8] Letter from the Secretary of War, *41st Congress, 2nd Session, H. Ex. Doc. No. 269, p. 3.*

175 648 439 293 The liquor trade was still rampant, in open violation of the Indian Intercourse Act of 1832 and the Judith Treaty of 1855. Liquor was taking a great toll of Indian lives. The agent at Fort Benton was helpless, but when he objected he was reminded by the citizens "that as they were the advance guard of civilization in the far northwest, barbarians must succumb to their opinions."[9] Given the popular prejudice against the Indians, it was impossible to get a conviction against the whiskey traders in the local courts. "Rather than have a white man punished for assaulting an Indian, the justice of the peace and the sheriff resigned their offices."[10] Violation of government treaties with the Indians concerned them little. "The people claim superior rights to the Indians—and they are indiscriminately killing an Indian when seen,"[11] wrote an agent.

175 648 Agent after agent sent annual reports to Washington pleading for a reservation to be set up for the Blackfoot, to avoid the clashes between Indians and settlers. One agent wrote,

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> "If my services are for good, they are being poorly used while I remain at this place (Benton). It has become a city, duly incorporated as such by the territorial legislature, and has its municipal officers who are unfriendly to the Indians and whose sympathies are with the whites in their attacks upon them. If, as I earnestly hope, a reservation will be established for the Blood, Blackfoot and Piegan tribes . . . there may be much good effected throughout this territory. The agent would then be his own master in controlling his agency, without being dictated to as he now is by old trading posts, merchants, thieves, and blackguards."[12]

These pleadings went unheeded until 1874 when a reservation was finally set aside for the Blackfoot.

175 648 In the meantime the friction between settlers and the Blackfoot increased. In 1865 a treaty was negotiated with the "Blackfoot Nation" in the person of a single Blackfoot chief! The object was to legally open to settlement territory that had already been occupied by the whites. The Blackfoot were to cede all their land lying south of the Missouri.[13]

This treaty was not recognized by the Blackfoot, nor was it ratified by Congress. Immediately after its conclusion the Bloods, Blackfoot and Piegan started to war against the Gros Ventre and the whites.[14] In April, 1866, a party of North Piegan burned the buildings of the government farm on Sun River and continued with an attack on a flourishing cattle ranch nearby.[15] It is significant that the Piegan, until now the most friendly to the

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[9] George B. Wright, *Annual Report*, 1867/68, p. 256.

[10] *Annual Report*, Sept. 2, 1868, p. 222.

[11] *Annual Report*, July 1, 1867, p. 206.

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

[13] *Annual Report*, p. 13.

[14] *Ibid.*, 1865/66, p. 202.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

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mounted police were coming to suppress the liquor trade, horse stealing, and inter-tribal warfare.[23] When the Mounted Police arrived they were welcomed by the Blackfoot. The literature contains many speeches of welcome of which the following are typical.

> "The Great Mother sent Stamixoton (Col. MacLeod) and the Police to put an end to the traffic in fire water. I can sleep now safely. Before the arrival of the Police, when I laid my head down at night, every sound frightened me; my sleep was broken; now I can sleep sound and am not afraid."[24]
>
> "If the Police had not come to this country where would we be all now? Bad men and whiskey were killing us so fast that very few, indeed, of us would have been left today. The Police have protected us as the feathers of the bird protect it from the frosts of winter."[25]

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In 1877, a treaty was signed with the Blackfoot tribes, including the Sarsi, in which provisions were made for them to confine themselves to one large reserve. However, the government thereafter decided upon separate reserves for each tribe. The treaty provided a payment of $12 and an annuity of $5 for each man, woman and child; $25 for each chief and $15 for each minor chief. An annual allowance was provided for schools, ammunition, cattle and agricultural implements.

Comparison and Summary

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The tempo of western development in Montana was more rapid and sudden than in Alberta and accordingly, was more devastating in its effects upon the Blackfoot, particularly the Piegan. Long before the disappearance of the buffalo they were hemmed in by cattle ranchers, homesteaders and miners and were ruthlessly pushed off their land. In the ensuing conflict between the Indians and settlers the government with its militia was on the side of the whites. The "bluecoats" became a symbol of a partial government and were heartily feared and hated by the Indians. Treaty after treaty was made with the Indians to legalize the inroads of the settlers, pushing the Indians within more and more confining limits. The Indians were bewildered by the rapid succession of treaties which were often not ratified in Washington and remained mere scraps of paper.

In Canada the Blackfoot fared much better. The later settlement of Alberta, the absence of a lawless frontier class, the prompt and efficient action of the few mounted police in suppressing the liquor trade that cropped up after 1870, and the establishment of reserves for the Indians before the influx of white settlers, spared the Blackfoot the bitter experiences of their American brethren.

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[23] John MacLean, *McDougall of Alberta*, p. 88.

[24] Stanley, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[25] A. W. Haydon, *Riders of the Plains*, p. 16.

578 our younger brother, Not Real Good, that I will do as he asks. But don't let things
621 like this happen again. If they should, although I am a woman, I will do as I wish.

A last story is taken from Biele's notes:

> [579] One night two brothers, relatives of Red Crow, visited him in his tipi. The chief was smoking and after his guests were seated, one on either side of him, he offered his pipe, the customary gesture of hospitality. The first brother refused to smoke. Signifying his anger, he pointed the stem at Red Crow. The other brother then rose, took aim and fired at the chief. The bullet missed him but hit his wife, Water Bird, in the shoulder. Red Crow then shot and killed his assailant while the second brother, though wounded, escaped into the darkness.

181 "Everyone," comments Henry, "that has lived a wicked life on earth,
578 committed murder in his own nation, or been guilty of suicide, must pass by
a different route to the Elysian fields."[70] But neither certainty of an uneasy
626 immortality, nor cooperative mechanisms, nor informal pressures succeeded
157 in outlawing intratribal killing among the competitive and violent Blood in
the Buffalo days.[71] Nor did sixty years' confinement on a reservation, nor the threat of the white man's law fundamentally alter the personality structure developed in that early period.

III. Blood Economy and Social Change in the Reserve Period*

648 Two vital factors acted upon Blood society simultaneously. In 1877,
136 Treaty No. 7 was signed with the Blackfoot tribes in Canada restricting them to a reserve, and in 1878, the winter count of a Blood reads, "This was the year the buffalo went out of sight."[72]

657 Both the Blood and the Canadian Government were fortunate in the

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178 [70] Henry and Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 529.

[71] Ruth Benedict in discussing Jules Henry's paper, *Some Cultural Determinants of Hostility in Pilaga Indian Children*, p. 120) writes: "The indication of cross-cultural studies is that minimal interpersonal hostility also is correlated with certain cultural institutions, political and economic, as well as forms of the family and methods of child rearing." Comparatively, for external threat as a cooperative mechanism, see Esther S. Goldfrank, *Historic Change and Social Character, a Study of Teton Dakota*, p. 78 ff., for informal pressures, see Karl L. Llewellyn and E. Adamson Hoebel, *The Cheyenne Way*, Chapter 9.

127 * The years given in the footnotes in this section refer to the *Annual Reports on Indian Affairs* contained in the *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada*. From 1873–1880, these are listed under the Department of the Interior; later reports were issued by the Department of Indian Affairs. From 1930 on, they appear separately.

128 All names used in this monograph, except those from published sources are fictitious.

[72] Percy Creighton's winter count.

coincidence of these two factors. The disappearance of the herds may well 657
account for the amenability of the "most warlike and haughty" Blood in 136
accepting reserve life, for almost over-night, and with no preparation on
their part, they had gone from an economy of plenty to complete destitution. 178
Insistence on hunting privileges would have made little sense when the prairies were empty of game. White officials, only, gave assurance of benevolent aid, inadequate and undependable though it might be. In the face of starvation there was no choice. The Blood gratefully accepted government rations.

In spite of the expense of feeding and clothing these destitute Indians, 657
Her Majesty's Government gained also. Large tracts of land reverted to the 425
Crown and could be thrown open to white settlers. The marauders who might have threatened them were now safely held within the limits of their reservation.

In 1877, the Blood numbered about 1500 persons. Their reserve is still 131
the largest in Canada. Situated between the Belly and St. Mary's rivers in
Alberta, and running in a southerly direction from the forks of these streams 657
for about forty miles to within fourteen miles of the International Boundary, [162]
it covers 540 square miles or 354,000 acres of splendid grazing land.[18]
Few of the original acres have been sold off, and leases to whites have been [425]
made for a limited time only—and then for a small fraction of the land. The fortunate location of the reservation, its considerable size and fertile soil have made possible the success of the more recent government programs.

The abandonment of hunting and raiding, freely enjoyed, and the acceptance of a sedentary existence within a restricted area, was certainly the 657
greatest, but by no means the last, change in the life of the Blood. The 177
Canadian Indian Department was primarily interested in making its wards self-supporting, and to that end, it experimented at various times, notably in 1877 when Treaty No. 7 was signed, again in 1894, and finally in 1910. In implementing its policies, it had no compunctions about destroying any part of the old Blood culture which conflicted with its own administrative aims or ethical standards. From its point of view, it was necessary for these Indians to give up their nomadic habits, to live in houses instead of tipis, to practise monogamy, to stop raiding, to farm or herd rather than hunt. External conformity with these new ways was enough. The Government did not enquire into the effects of its policies on those patterns of tribal life that did not immediately affect the success of its programs. In all probability, despite the fact that the Blood were fortunate in having a number of unusually interested and sympathetic agents, the Government failed to

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[18] 1909, Vol. 43, No. 15, p. 167.

657 177 realize how radically its programs altered the whole fabric of the older society.

657 [171] 121 Certain tribes, such as the Teton Dakota or the Kiowa, once placed upon a reserve seem to have been little disturbed either by accident or official design. The former enjoyed a continuing equality in an economy of scarcity;[74] the latter, a social hierarchy fixed by inherited horse wealth.[75] Compared with these more or less static societies, the Blood offer an exceptional opportunity for analytic examination. Within a short sixty years of reserve life, economic change has been surprisingly frequent. Its influence on the structure of Blood society and the status of the individual in it, has been marked.

1877–1894

657 The Blood took the government rations but they did not accept the recommended way of life. The Treaty of 1877 provided farm land, necessary seeds and implements for any Indian ready to farm.[76] Those who preferred to herd received cattle: two cows were given to a family of five; three cows to a family of five to ten; and four cows to a family of more than ten. For those who wanted to till the soil and also raise stock, a compromise arrangement was arrived at.[77]

657 241 [311] But oats, barley, potatoes, and spring wheat did not thrive on these northern plains. The growing season was short, the frosts early, the hazards of drought and grasshoppers made the returns most uncertain. By 1884, 1500 Blood cultivated only 275 acres, and much of the labor was supplied by white farmers employed by the Government.[78]

657 231 Cattle herding fared no better. It, too, was far removed from the adventurous and rewarding experience of the past. Except for a few desirable hunting strains, the breeding of horses had been a matter of accident—number not quality was important for most of the trading was done in unbroken animals. The onerous duties involved in caring for one, two, or three cows held little attraction. Increase was slow, and the Government [556] frowned upon any change in ownership. The horse remained, as it had been for more than a century, the most desired possession of the Blood, their symbol of wealth, their medium of exchange.

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[74] Esther S. Goldfrank, *Historic Change and Social Character*, p. 81 ff.

[75] The Kiowa, like the Blood, were permitted to retain their unequally distributed horse herds. B. Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare*, p. 53, writes, "The rank held by Kiowa families at the end of the last century has become the fixed hereditary status of the descendants."

[76] 1878, Vol. 8, No. 10, p. xv ff.; also Appendix C, xxxiv ff.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. xlvi.

[78] 1884, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. iv.

[1877-1894]

The Blood not only failed to apply for their full allotment, they even 657
cared inadequately for those cattle issued them. In the winter of 1878, the 231
Government was forced to hire four men at a cost of $250 a month to look
after the Blackfoot herds.[79] The first winters on the reserve were harsh.[80]
Rations were insufficient. To ward off starvation, the Blood ate mice, dogs, [261]
even buffalo skins. The cattle were surreptitiously slaughtered. In a few
years, most of the animals issued under the Treaty of 1877 had disappeared.
What remained in the herd of the Indian Department was cheerfully
sold in 1884–5, removing "another source of expense and anxiety."[81]

It has frequently been said that these Indians of the Plains did not accept 657
the government programs because they were so wedded to their nomadic
life that they could not be persuaded to settle down and farm or look after
their cows. A review of the official reports makes their lack of cooperation [127]
patent; but it also lends reason to their attitude. Cultivation of recom-
mended but climatically unsuitable plants was one long headache. Nor [241]
could the milk of two cows, or their slow and uncertain increase, be ex- [234]
pected to induce a family that had depended upon the hunt to give up the
few pleasures of their former nomadism that still remained to them— [517]
visits to friends, rodeos, and the social compensations of the Sun Dance.
The Blood accepted relief while they clung tenaciously to whatever could [178]
be salvaged from their former life.

The rations issued by the Government assured equality to the Blood, but 231
on a meagre subsistence level. The outlawing of raiding, on the other hand, 657
froze the "horse wealth," and those who had horse herds in 1877 were able 556
to maintain them. In fact, barring accident, disease, or theft, these horse
owners could expect a natural and, frequently, a substantial increase. This
increase became the sole important source of accumulated wealth while
initiative that had found expression in the old manner of life was blocked
by poor rewards and legal prohibitions.

Mobility.—The uncertain balance of the pre-reserve days was thrown 657
further out of joint. The Canadian administration was now responsible for 556
tribal welfare, and a tribal leader's need to share his wealth to win loyal
support was less urgent. The settled living, the small unproductive farms
and few cattle made even a good worker a luxury. Only the rich man with

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[79] 1879, Vol. 6, No. 7, p. 67. The term Blackfoot is used here. It is not clear whether [101]
this is an inclusive term for all the tribes, or only for the North Blackfoot. The
former seems more reasonable.

[80] W. J. Waines (*Problems of the Drought Area in Western Canada*, p. 206) writes, [132]
"Evidence suggests that during the period 1883–96 there were years in which the
precipitation was as low as it has been since 1929, and that there was in addition
considerable frost damage."

[81] 1884, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 83.

[1877-1894]

657 556 [581] [557] [582] large herds might still prefer a poor yet capable son-in-law. More often, however, he tried to cement his position by marrying his daughter to the son of another rich man. Such marriages took place, for the most part, between children of ten or twelve years,[22] *minipoka* or "favorites." To enhance the status of the head of the family, these children were honored with special gifts and exempted from normal duties. Even as adults, they did not participate in the ordinary way in tribal life. The men continued to validate their position by generous giving, but the gifts they offered were more often derived from inheritance and the exploitation of brothers and sons-in-law than from their own labors. The girls grew up without learning to cook, and long after marriage expected their mothers to prepare their meals and carry them to their tipis.

556 581 586 [184] Parental desire to channel wealth permanently was, however, frequently frustrated. The early training of these young and favored children made for even greater marital instability than was customary for the tribe as a whole. It was usually the rich or the handsome (and the two were often identical) who were credited with many marriages. The poor, less sought after, stuck it out longer, if not through thick and thin.

581 184 The following is a description of the marriage of two favorites. Thirty-five years later, the informant spoke of this short interlude with deepest pain. Like a hurt child he reviewed the hardships of these months of living together.

> 581 184 585 Yellow Wolf, my father, said to me, "Now don't fool around with anybody for you are a *minipoka*, and you should have a proper marriage." A marriage was arranged for me and Wakes at Night, the daughter of White Buffalo Robe, Chief of the Lone-Fighters Band. She was a *minipoka* too, and only fourteen years old. She brought blankets and about fifteen pair of moccasins, enough for all the members of my family. She brought a pair for me. She also brought two broken and six unbroken horses. Yellow Wolf and his relatives put up twenty-five horses, their best ones. When this gift was sent to White Buffalo Robe, my father-in-law, Wakes at Night rode in front on a fine saddle horse. She wore a weasel-tail suit and a headdress. A wagon was loaded with blankets and goods. They were all taken over to White Buffalo Robe. White Buffalo Rib, a brother of Wakes at Night, received some of the horses. . . .
>
> 581 184 Wakes at Night was the second child, but like her older brother, she was also a *minipoka*. Our marriage was not a happy one. She did not treat me very well. We fought constantly about where we should live. White Buffalo Robe wanted me to live at his place, because his daughter was so young and got homesick. My father did not want to let me go—and besides I wanted to stay home with him. Whenever White Buffalo Robe thought I had done something wrong, he took his daughter home. This happened several times. I would send my father for her and get her back. When I took my wife to visit her parents, her father would keep us there for a longer time

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[22] A. E. Hudson, *Kazak Social Structure*, p. 35, notes a similar tendency of the rich to marry early.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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[561] In the children's play camp, however, age-grades were frequently forgotten and boys and girls imitated the life of adults. Some chose to be husband and wife, others mother and child. Pointed Plume says,

> Usually we had partners, but my older sister almost always played with me. I was her son. She thought it safest if she took care of me, because I was a *minipoka*.

[184] No such supervision was given a Ned Sloane. He frankly tells of his sex play with a little girl of five.

[556] The poorer children served the rich children much as the poorer adults served the rich adults. Sometimes this was a matter of free choice, a desire to be identified with a more fortunate child. Pointed Plume says,

> Bird Shooter was not a *minipoka* but he liked to play with the favorite children. His father was related to my father. He had just enough money to keep going. Bird Shooter was a little younger than I. He used to stand at the stick and call the winner in the arrow game.

The service of others, however, was bought and paid for. Pointed Plume says,

> [431] One of our favorite pastimes was making horses out of mud. Neither I nor Buffalo Horn was particularly good at this and we tried to induce Big Bonnet, who was poor but a good sculptor, to play with us and make horses for us. At first he didn't care to, but I finally persuaded him to come to my house. My father gave him moccasins and and pair of pants and my mother fed him well, so he remained with us. He and I were the same age, about ten.

And this service was exacted once it had been bought. Pointed Plume says,

> [431] Big Bonnet used to play the arrow game with us. Arguments would arise as to who was the winner. Big Bonnet wanted his arrows back and would fight the others. If I and Buffalo Horn beat him up he would go home, but he had to come back the next day to play because he was paid for.

Poor boys tried to get even. Ned Sloane says,

> [578] When I was six, there was a favorite child who lived in our band and who wore a weasel skin charm which hung down his back. One day, one of the older boys grabbed the weasel skin and twisted it so that the cord almost choked the *minipoka*. He finally freed himself and went crying to his father. The gang broke up quickly. They were afraid when the father of the boy screamed at them the worst curse known to the Blood, "May you have an early death!"

● 657
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SUMMARY.—These first seventeen years on the reservation saw the greatest change in Blood society since the introduction of the horse. A people who had been nomadic, subsisted on buffalo, and raided their neighbors, both white and Indian, for horses that alone brought prestige and the possibility of social advance—these people were now settled within the

[1877-1894]

confines of a limited area, asked to follow unrewarding and unfamiliar 657
occupations, and forbidden the one activity that assured them a place in 178
their society—horse-stealing. That such a radical change was accomplished
without resistance was due to one fact: there were no more buffalo on these [136]
once blackened plains. Rations offered by a friendly though foreign government
alone made life possible.

Much of the traditional living was destroyed. But the economic mechanisms 657
developed in the buffalo period survived. Unlike the rebellious Sioux, 556
the acquiescent Blood were permitted to retain their horses. To this starving 178
people these horses remained the symbol of wealth. Exuberant property
transfers for ceremonial privilege and prestige continued to dominate their [425]
life but, lacking the earlier opportunities for improving status, only those [184]
who had horses before 1877 were able to participate in ostentatious displays.
The need for loyal supporters diminished. So did the need for an
energetic, though poor, son-in-law. The rich preferred to bulwark their [557]
position by marrying their children to others equally favored. Social stratifications,
incipient in the buffalo days, became more marked in these early
years of the reserve period.

1894–1910

The new economy continued to be a desultory affair. By 1896, the population 657
had fallen to 1400.[91] The Blood were farming 304 acres, an increase 433
of only twenty-nine in ten years. The farms were small, but the agent
proudly reported that "instead of 35 fields worked mostly by whites in 241
1886, there were now 84 fields worked mostly by Indians."[92] Still the old [162]
difficulties remained and new ones were added. "The depression and lack of
need of Indian labor and commodities, the poor crops in the Northwest [464]
Territories made it necessary to continue relief without curtailment, in spite
of increasing vigilance."[93]

The earnings for the year, although greater than they had ever been before 434
and distributed to more individuals, fell far below the needs of the 463
tribe:[94]

Mining coal	$380.00	657
Hauling coal	725.00	
Freighting	1183.69	
Hay sold	1400.00	
Working wages	2000.00	
Sundries	1821.42	
Total	$7510.11	

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[91] 1896, Vol. 10, No. 14, p. 367.

[92] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 326.

[93] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

● 657 231 425 SUCCESS OF CATTLE-RAISING.—Since the land seemed so inhospitable to farming yet so desirable for herding, the Canadian Indian Department made another attempt to introduce cattle-breeding on the various Blackfoot reserves. In 1894, three of the most influential men of the Blood, Red Crow, the old tribal chief who had concluded the Treaty of 1877, Crop-eared Wolf, his adopted son, and Sleeps on Top, were permitted to exchange their ponies for "bulls, cows, heifers and calves." Twenty-three were issued to the first two, and Sleeps on Top received eighteen.[55]

[178] Time and the inevitability of a settled life upon the reserve may have made the Blood readier to accept the responsibility of herding now than in the past, but the main reasons for the success of this program must be looked for elsewhere. Only a few of their hundreds of animals were of real use for farming, transportation and riding. On the other hand, the Blood had seen the success of a similar program among the neighboring Piegan. The rich herders knew that an exchange of twenty for twenty would bring quick benefits and would not radically reduce their manipulative horse wealth. [556] There was a great clamor for cattle; but the man without horses remained the man without cows.

657 231 The following is a list taken from the official record of some who applied for cattle at this time:[56]

> 425 511 Red Crow (chief): . . .House in good condition, comfortably furnished. . .a nice lot of poultry, a large band of horses and about 25 head of cattle. . . .The house had a carpeted floor. . .and there was a good sewing machine. The chief would like to exchange some ponies for some heifers.
>
> Iron (son of Chief Moon): Neat house. No cattle. Large band of horses, good stable, implements, shed, hay corral, cattle shed to be built, logs for which were on the ground. . . .Was anxious to exchange horses for cattle.
>
> To-morrow: Good house. . .stoves, two beds, outside kitchen, building new stable. . .root house, corral, large band of horses, logs on ground for cattle shed, and wants to get cattle.
>
> Running Crane: House was in its usual good shape, bedsteads, rocking chairs, washstands, red table-cloth on table, fancy stand-up, clock, coal and cook stoves, carpet on floor. . .cattle shed in hollow. . . anxious to get cattle.
>
> Big Snake: a similar place, wants cattle also.
>
> Black Plume: a similar place, also wants to get cattle.

657 231 Others who had well-kept houses are mentioned, but no demands for cattle are registered. It may easily be inferred that although these Indians

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[55] *Ibid.*, p. 272 ff.

[56] *Idem.*

were cooperating admirably in the new way of life, they had no horses to 231
exchange. And interestingly enough, at the very time cattle were being 657
issued to the rich in exchange for their horses, some of the younger men, cut 425
off from the new wealth, as they had been from the old, again "committed
depredations on the ranchers' cattle."[97] Raiding which was a necessary and [556]
legitimate road to wealth in the buffalo days, still seemed necessary in [685]
1895, but it was no longer legitimate.

From the point of view of the reserve (and those who had horses) the program was a great success.

> The first 50 head of heifers issued to the Indians last summer have done well and the Indians took great care of them all winter. The cattle were never stabled, but kept in good sheds and corrals carefully made and well sheltered in the brush, the increase for the first year being thirty head. The other Indians have shown great anxiety to get cattle and a large number have been applied for. During the present year I have traded over one hundred head of cattle to different Indians for ponies and still the supply is not equal to the demand. This owning of cattle I consider the first great step these Indians have yet taken to make themselves self-supporting, their reserve being one of the best grazing parts in Southern Alberta, and capable of feeding a great many thousands of cattle.[98]

By 1897, "profits having rapidly accrued to these few, the desire to follow their example became so great that the department could not, with the means at its disposal, meet the demands upon it."[99] In the first year, 50 heifers had been issued; in the second, 100 more; and at the end of two years, these had increased to 291 head.[100]

The first decade of the 1900's saw not only a great increase in herds, but 231
in cash income from both horses and cattle. In 1898, the Deputy General of 657
Indian Affairs had reported, "A market has sprung up in a most unexpected 434
direction, purchases of these ponies having been made for the purpose of
packing freight through the Klondike."[101] This market continued, and in
1902 we read, "A great demand has sprung up for Indian ponies and I am [432]
pleased to see the Indians taking advantage of this and selling. Over 400
head must have been sold during the season."[102] That same year the
slaughtered cattle netted their owners $4180.[103]

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[97] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

[98] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[99] 1897, Vol. 11, No. 14, p. xxi.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[101] 1898, Vol. 11, No. 14, p. xxi.

[102] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, Pt. 1, p. 133.

[103] *Idem.*

434 The total income of the tribe had risen to $29,000.[104] Of this amount,
311 one-half was derived from farm products including hay. The two were, in
fact, almost synonymous, for only 51½ acres were still being cultivated.[105]
The erratic subsistence farming was rapidly abandoned and the whole
[463] tribe turned to providing fodder for the new herds: "Almost the only occu-
pations beside looking after the cattle and horses are hay making and
freighting coal."[106]

246 Many factors encouraged the Blood to join in the haying experiment.
657 First, a market existed both on and off the reservation: what the Indian
herds did not need was sold to the Mounted Police or neighboring white
[434] ranchers. Second, there was no onerous cultivation. Except for a few irri-
gated acres, the hay that was cropped grew wild on the prairies. And finally,
in a new setting, the haying camps recalled the great days of their hunting
[464] past. In the late summer, the tribe again made for the open range. Any man
who owned a wagon, a team of horses, and a few implements, could be sure
of some income from the new industry. Those who lacked even these few
basic necessities could attach themselves to wealtheir men. As in the earlier
time, their labor would be rewarded by some small share in the harvest.
[556] Advantage still remained with the men of wealth, but participation was
[184] assured at a low level, and even the poor man had a chance.

The camps also strengthened, if only temporarily, bonds of family and
[571] band. The notorious Charcoal,[107] who had left his home in anger and moved
[621] far off by himself, joined the haying camp, again accepted the leadership
[593] of his brother and helped bring in the crop. Desire to share in the new wealth
[182] overcame violent intra-familial resentment.

In 1902, one-third of the adult males on the reserve owned cattle.[108]
464 By 1909, practically every man could boast a cow. Numerous circumstances
[231] contributed to the more equitable distribution of wealth during the first
decade of the century. Such industries as haying, hauling, or working in the
[434] beet factory were open to everyone. In 1905, beet fields were planted at
Raymond,[109] and two years later the Blood earned $9000 topping beets and
[316] carting them to the factory.[110] And the report continues, "One of our
Indians named Black Horse has a small coal mine on the banks of the St.
[472] Mary's River from which he makes his living mining and selling coal to the

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[104] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 228.

[105] *Ibid.*, Pt. 2, p. 220.

[106] *Ibid.*, Pt. 1, p. 132.

[107] Charcoal later murdered his wife's lover. He killed himself as he was about to be apprehended by the Agency police assisted by his own brothers.

[108] 1904, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 237.

[109] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 203.

[110] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 161.

[1894-1910]

schools and settlers in the neighborhood."[111] His lucrative venture added to 464
the general income: anyone so minded could haul coal at a fixed rate. [316]

But the chief concern of the Blood was with their herds. In 1902, a loan [472]
system had been established.[112] "The system," explains a report, "is the
lending to the Indians of one or two animals upon condition that, at the 231
expiration of a certain time he will return to the department an equal 657●
number,—these in turn being loaned to others." Any increase above that 426
number was his. And in 1905, the Blood demanded the 900 head of cattle
still due under the old treaty of 1877. Having once refused them, "these [425]
men seeing the advance made by cattle herders . . . changed their minds."[113]

By 1906, the Blood had more than 7500 cattle,[114] and a cash income of 434

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[111] *Ibid.* Among the Northern Blackfoot the mines are tribally owned and the
benefits general. In fact, in contradistinction to the Blood, much of the experience 184
of this tribe in the reserve period has tended to equalize wealth. Among other things, [316]
the cold winters of 1905-6 and 1906-7 affected the Northern Blackfoot much more
seriously than they did the Blood and more of their cattle were lost. This no doubt [655]
inspired a more general North Blackfoot participation in agriculture both before
1910 and after. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920, therefore, did not create as inequitable a situation for them as they did for the Blood.

But perhaps even more fundamental to the general security of the North Black- 184
foot was their income from annuities and land rentals that became substantial 434
something over twenty years ago. These neatly cushioned the shock from any drop
in market price. In 1923, they reached a combined total of more than $88,000 (for
the Blood approximately $22,000); in 1934, during the great depression and drought,
the North Blackfoot had an income of almost $125,000 from these same sources
(the Blood something over $13,000). The last published figures (for 1936) vary little
from these. A census taken in 1939 reveals a North Blackfoot population of 830; 162
a Blood population of 1476.

According to Dr. Jane Richardson and Dr. Lucien M. Hanks, Jr. (personal com- 434
munications) everyone on the North Blackfoot Reserve under fifty years of age
receives $25 annually, over fifty years, $50. Besides liberal grocery rations, 7 lbs. of 184
meat are allotted weekly to each individual. The sick and aged receive additional
help. At marriage a young couple is set up in a newly built or adequately refurbished
house, given furniture, a horse and wagon if desired, and what is more important,
forty acres of the best cultivatable land still available. An informant told Dr. Rich-
ardson, "There are no more poor on this reserve." Another, somewhat nostalgic for [556]
the privileges of the past, said, "It isn't fun being a *minipoka* on this reserve any
more." While there is still considerable wife-beating and a rare case of wife-murder, [674]
Dr. Richardson says there is little violence exhibited between males. Evidently,
the practical elimination of wealth differences has effectively reduced the strains [182]
of competition, and as a corollary, the incidence of assault among them. 000

[112] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 132.

[113] 1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.

[114] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 162. This peak was not maintained. The cold 434
winter that followed reduced the herds almost one-third (among the Piegan and the 231
North Blackfoot the loss was even higher). Fifty-five hundred cattle survived and 178
no great dislocation of ownership seems to have resulted.

[1894-1910]

434 approximately $40,000 annually.[115] As early as 1902, the agent had written,
178 "these Indians are certainly industrious and never lose an opportunity to
make money at any work that may turn up."[116] And four years later the
[461] general report reads, "A complete change has gradually come over their
views. . . . The experimental discovery of the market value has brought
this revolution of feeling."[117] Completely forgotten was the fact that the
market value had been equally important to a successful fur trade in the
buffalo days, and that then it had also been a spur to industry and ambition.

311 Social Values Sustained.—But neither the increase in wealth nor its
231 greater spread threatened the dominance of the large horse owners. True,
184 they were persuaded, at long last, to care for the meat needs of their fami-
556 lies from their own stock,[118] but the small dent made by these contributions
was quickly offset by other government policies. The flow of white settlers into the area was steady, and it soon became apparent that "further expansion need not in the future be looked for so much in the direction of the increase of herds already in the hands of individuals as in the number of those who will engage in the industry, because largely in consequence of the curtailment of the hay areas . . . and the gradual increase of cattle, a large and growing proportion of Indians have already reached the limit of what they could profitably handle. . . . "[119] Ponies and priority had determined the size and ownership of the large cattle herds.

464 Many a young man who could not acquire a substantial herd of his own
231 was drawn into the industry as a helper. His position in terms of the old
buffalo days was in part reëstablished. Again his services were in demand;
[465] again he was assured board, lodging, clothing, and if his employer were
[557] generous, a horse as an annual bonus. These helpers were often the younger
or poorer relatives of rich herders,[120] and they hoped for preferential treatment because of relationship. There was little chance of riches in this work,

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[115] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

[116] 1902, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 133.

[117] 1906, Vol. 12, No. 27, p. xxv.

[511] [118] In 1905, twenty-five men agreed to support seventy-five women and children. They handed back the $50 that had been credited to their meat account. (1905, Vol. 11, No. 27, p. 202.) By 1907-1908, two hundred Blood, or about two-thirds of the
● [657] adult male population, found it unnecessary to draw free food allowances. In that year the Government supplied the tribe with 273,000 lbs. less beef than it had five years earlier. (1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. 163.)

[119] 1907-1908, Vol. 14, No. 27, p. xxvi.

[171] [120] A more or less similar situation exists among the Kazak. In discussing the helpers of cattle owners, A. E. Hudson (*Kazak Social Structure*, p. 27) writes, "These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who receive wages."

556 The less successful families aped their wealthier neighbors. They too had
184 give-aways, but these were on a lesser scale. They were initiated to a part of
a bundle; they bought the cheaper society memberships; they too had their
[852] favorites, but these children had to be content with small honorings. They
might receive an otter skin, even a weasel-tail suit, or they might wear
their umbilical cords in little beaded bags as the "real" favorites did. But
these meagre efforts of their parents to "keep up with the Jones's," never
succeeded in gaining recognition for their children. Only when the spending
was great and continual was a child considered a "real" favorite by the
Blood. A Bird Shooter or a Joe Duck-Bill might say, "I was a *minipoka*,
but my father died when I was still young. That is why I haven't many
honorings." At these avowals the Blood would only laugh; they knew
what it took to make a favorite.

787 Shamanism began to lose its hold. Wissler, writing at this time, says of
756 the vision quest, "The majority of young men fail in this ordeal as an un-
reasonable fear usually comes down upon them the first night, causing
178 them to abandon their part."[135] Whatever may have been the trials of the
[152] ordeal it was not waning courage alone that turned the interest of the young
men from the vision quest and medicine power. There were now more
rewarding ways of earning a living.

Even the older men showed little interest in the quest itself, although
they still sought the benefits of supernatural power. Says Wissler, "Men of
medicine experience seldom resort to these tortures, as dreams of a satis-
factory character are said to come to them in normal sleep,"[136] and in
[425] another passage, he adds, "At present the majority of men seems content
to secure their charms and other medicines from those who do have dreams
[556] or from the large stock of such available for transfer."[137] Emphasis on
courage and inspiration disappeared; increasingly wealth was the preferred
road to power.

511 SUMMARY.—In this period of 1894–1910, the bulk of the wealth still
556 rested in the hands of the horse-owners who in the first seventeen years of
657 the reserve succeeded in freezing the only valuable form of property that
433 remained to the Blood after the treaty of 1877. The loan system, the final
distribution of cattle, the need for fodder and additional help, as well as
182 those industries that paid money wages, spread the wealth. With the in-
creased oppportunities for making a living, social differences became less
conspicuous, but the dominance of the large horse and cattle owners was
never threatened. As the economy expanded, the rich spent more lavishly,

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[135] Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles*, p. 104.

[136] *Idem.*

[137] *Idem.*

[1894-1910]

and those who shared in the new wealth imitated as successfully as they 511
could the behavior of the wealthy tribesmen. The new herding economy 556
functioned comfortably within the framework of pre-reserve values. 657 ●

433

1910–1920 182

Farming and the New Money Economy.—After the turn of the century, 657
experiment revealed that the soil and climate of the Blood Reserve 311
were well adapted to the cultivation of red fife, an early maturing wheat,[128]
and shortly before 1910, land was thrown open for farming. The cattle [242]
herders, led by their head chief, Crop-eared Wolf, objected vociferously to
any reduction of their grazing fields,[129] but the agency, interested primarily
in obtaining the largest income possible, was not deterred. The younger men, [425]
"the working element" as the report calls them, eagerly backed the new
plan and rushed in their applications for land, "as much as a steam plough [464]
can break in two years."[130] This "working element" saw its first big chance
to make good since the buffalo days.[131] It was a composite of half-breeds [184]
who shared in a small way, if at all, in the property distributions of their
Blood relatives, a number of full-bloods whose families could offer them
little, and a few ambitious and far-sighted cattle owners, mostly from those
very chiefly families that had, at first, fought the program so bitterly.
The bulk of the herders, however, were content with their lucrative herds
and their share in the income from hay. Their poorer but not too distant
relatives preferred helping them to embarking upon a new and untried
career.

Previous wealth was no prerequisite to this new farming program. Anyone 657
willing to work could get forty acres of land, plowed and ready to plant. 425
"The intention is to continue the breaking until every working Indian on 243
the reserve is supplied with whatever acreage he is capable of cultivating."[132]
In 1909, 820 acres were broken for fifteen Indians.[133] The farms ran together [311]
in a great strip to facilitate the plowing that was done with a steam plow [556]
bought with tribal funds, but the report explicitly states, "each man [407]

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[128] Waines, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

[129] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 169; also Harry D. Biele, interview in 1939 with R. C. Wilson, former agent of the Blood.

[130] *idem.*

[131] Speaking of agriculture, Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31) says of this herding tribe, "Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor any other means of subsistence resorted to it." Owen Lattimore (*High Tartary*, p. 245) notes a similar situation. "In the new tendency, it is the young man not established and the man who fails to hold his own as a flock-master, herder, and raider who drifts out of the nomadic life and settles on the land." [171]

[132] 1910, Vol. 17, No. 27, p. 174.

[133] 1909, Vol. 15, No. 27, p. 169.

657 owns his own farm and after it is broken for him, works it individually
425 without having any interest in the work or produce of any of the adjoining
243 farms. . . .[184] Out of the proceeds of the crop each Indian paid back to the
[407] trust fund all advances that had been made him including cost of breaking
land, seed, fencing, granaries."[185]

[452] Returns were immediate and large. Chief Running Antelope, who bought
243 out of one of the other Indians[186] while the crop was growing and thus harvested
434 eighty acres, had a cash balance of $1309.42 after paying all debts
and advances. Emile Bull Shield came next with a net balance of $1203.59.
[425] Tallow took third place with clear profits of $1200.81.[187] By the end of the
decade, many a young farmer was better off than the old established cattle
herders.

434 The following table shows the amazing increase in income during this
178 decade of greatest participation:[188]

	1911	*1914*	*1919*	*1920*
Farm products, including hay.	$29,645	$24,000	$99,575	$110,000
Beef	11,549	14,348	60,000	59,929
Wages	13,432	17,751	35,000	50,000
Miscellaneous	2,124	5,001	39,171	34,403
Total income	$56,750	$61,100	$233,746	$254,332

464 In 1919, there were 4000 cattle (a substantial decrease from the figures
433 of 1906) and 3600 horses on the reserve; 2800 acres were sown, almost
[231] entirely in wheat, and 10,000 tons of hay were cut.[189] Due to World War I,
all commodity prices were inflated and the returns from beef and farm
[458] products multiplied four times in as many years. Everyone prospered. Even
the single men without herds or land had no difficulty in finding a job.

465 Sometimes a worker might be given a small share of the crop, sometimes
464 he might receive cash wages, but most frequently the remuneration offered
by former herder or new farmer was not unlike that of the buffalo days.
Says Pointed Plume,

> In the years I was building my herd and farming I hired Bob Sharp Cutter to help me. He was the son of my father's brother, Sharp Cutter. He was much younger

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[184] *Idem.*

[185] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[427] [186] Once assigned, land could be "sold" or "rented" by one Blood to another. Leases to whites were made only with the permission of the Agency and the native Council of Chiefs.

[187] 1910, Vol. 17, p. 174.

[188] 1911, Vol. 19, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 24; 1914, Vol. 23, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 1; 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 68; 1920, Vol. 8, No. 27, Pt. 2, p. 76.

[189] 1919, Vol. 9, No. 27, p. 36.

> than I. When he came, he was still single, but he remained with me for several years 465 after his marriage. He lived in the same house with me. He received no regular pay, 464 but he was given board and lodging. Sometimes I made him a gift. In the fall I would take him to the dry goods store and fit him out. After his marriage, I boarded his wife as well. Besides this, he kept $4.00 out of each $8.00 I paid for hauling the grain to the elevator. There were about thirty hauls.

Says Ned Sloane,

> Spotted Tail, my father-in-law's brother's son worked for me three summers and winters. He was single and lived in my house. He received no regular wage, but besides his board and lodging, I gave him a horse at the end of each year, a complete riding outfit, some clothes, and a small cash bonus every so often. When he married he left me, but his brother who was still single took his place and worked for me for two years.

Shamanism appealed only to the old who were still willing to purchase 556 medicine with horses and validate it with dreams. The herders continued to [756] build up their position as they had in the past. They bought medicine bundles; they joined societies; they honored their sons and daughters with lavish payments in both horses and goods for ceremonial privileges. The new rich spent their money on seeds, implements, barns, and wagons. Unwilling to accumulate more than the few horses necessary to their daily tasks, these fortunate farmers felt no urge to enhance their prestige by ceremonial purchase. But they did have favorites "the American way." They honored their children with extravagant outfits, a fine saddle horse, a fine saddle. While they spent their money differently from the horse owners, they were just as eager to set their sons and daughters apart from the sons and daughters of the poorer families as were the owners of the large herds.

Summary.—During this decade income spread was greatest and Blood 433 prosperity at its peak. With few exceptions, the new farming program re- 434 ceived its strongest support from those individuals who had the smallest 657 stake in their society. Quick rewards soon set them on a par with the successful herders, but lacking a surplus of horses, they did not validate their position in the customary manner. For the first time in the history of the Blood, a money economy, entirely divorced from the traditional horse economy, flourished exuberantly and with success in this competitive society.

1920–1940

Frost and Depression.—At the end of this golden decade, two catas- 433 trophes befell the Blood. The post-war depression caused a sudden drop 458 in commodity prices. Both farmers and herders suffered. But prior to this, 433 the harsh winters of 1919 and 1920 had created a much more fundamental 731

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434

[1920-1940]

433 change in the fabric of their tribal life. The excessive cold practically
731 annihilated the cattle herds.[140] At one stroke, the accumulated capital of
231 the herders was wiped out. For the farmers the blow was temporary; they
434 still had their land, and after the difficult years a good income, although a smaller one, could again be derived from wheat. But a herd could not be replaced in a day, or in a year. Most of the old breeders gave up in despair. The wheat farmers bought up the cattle that survived.

Pointed Plume, scion of one of those chiefly families that had been ambitious enough to farm as well as herd, says,

> 425 Then in 1919 the winter was very severe. The Government feared for the cattle
> 231 and horses on the range, and the cattle were driven into a cow camp to protect them.
> In spite of all our care, most of the cattle starved. I had only two left. But the still
> [731] high price for wheat made it possible for me to buy more. Weasel White Buffalo,
> [435] my wife's father,[141] said to me, "You are very foolish to raise cattle. You may be wiped out again." But I went ahead. Other Indians who had only a few remaining
> [874] cows were glad to sell them to me, and when the Dunbow Industrial School was discontinued, I bought up their herd for something like $300. I paid in wheat money and horses, one horse or $30 for a cow and a calf. Today I and my two sons have *160 head of cattle.*

231 The loss of cattle in the cold winters of 1919 and 1920 meant the loss of
556 all cash income to the herders; but enough horses remained[142] to carry on the traditional exchange and purchase. Again on relief the erstwhile herders still achieved prestige in the old way, but with this difference: the horse was no longer the chief symbol of wealth. The agency was quick to recognize this. Horse exchanges and payments are not entered in the official books, but transactions in wheat and cattle are duly recorded. For the first time in more than a century, the man with horses was not necessarily the
[575] rich man. Yet he continued to buy eagerly, even compulsively, into socie-
[424] ties although he could not always complete the purchase. He might join the Horn Society, four times, six times, eight times, but in spite of such constant validation, his position became less secure. He still got "respect" but "respect" worn thin because it was not bolstered by real wealth. Then, as now, real wealth was in the hands of those men who had gone into farming around 1910.

434 Never again did cattle herding approach its former peak or popularity.
657 In 1930, there were only 1300 head of cattle on the reserve, less than one-

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[231]
[140] According to the 1922 report, Vol. 8, No. 27, p. 50, only 1376 head remained.

[141] The father of Pointed Plume's third wife.

[142] The number of horses affected by the cold was considerably less than the number of cattle. A clue to this situation is given by Hudson (*op. cit.*, p. 31). He writes: "The horses would first break the crust of snow with their hoofs and eat the top of the grass. After which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks."

fifth the number the Blood had boasted in their herding heyday.[143] The 434
income from beef products, if not impressive, remained stable: since 1922, 657
it has varied only within a few thousand dollars. Wheat, however, the main- 433
stay of Blood economy, fluctuated seriously in the post-war period and
again with the depressed markets of the early thirties and the extreme [231]
droughts that followed. From 1930 to 1932, the number of acres cultivated [458]
decreased 50 per cent; farm income dropped from the substantial level of
$100,000[144] to a miserable $24,000;[145] and "the seasons of 1934-5-6 were in [731]
many ways the most discouraging to Indian farmers."[146] Many of them [311]
joined the herders on the relief rolls of the agency.

Not unlike the situation in our own West, land was being concentrated 434
in the hands of the few. In 1939, Jim Belly Fat farmed 600 acres—income, 425
$9000; Pointed Plume and his son George farmed 300 acres—income,
$3000; another son, Harry farmed 100 acres—income $960.[147] From the 184
first figure there was still deductible support for a sick brother's family [736]
and compensation for a helper, but the last two may be accepted as net.

The situation is beginning to tell and tensions over land are growing. 433
The small acreages cultivated in the first years of the reserve did not vitally
affect the general economy. The none too productive farms remained little [578]
more than homesteads. Nor did the substantial allotments of wheat lands
in 1910 create any land shortage; all requests could be satisfied, and in the [425]
years that followed, the on-coming generation could also get land for the
asking. Wissler, discussing the distribution of property at death, observes, 425
"The older sons usually take the bulk, but must make some concessions to 428
all concerned."[148] So little was land a problem in the early years of wheat
farming that a system of ultimogeniture found acceptance:[149] it was customary to permit the youngest son, if he had helped farm his father's land, to inherit it in entirety, on the assumption that the older children had already been well taken care of. Today such expectancy is frequently unfulfilled.

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[143] 1930, Pt. 2, p. 64.

[144] Ibid., p. 72.

[145] 1932, Pt. 2, p. 42. Total income dropped from $150,000 to $62,000.

[146] 1937, p. 23.

[147] He had already "borrowed" 50 acres more to work the following year.

[148] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 26. Informants stated that in wealthy families mature
sons were provided with horses and later with cattle. Yet at the time of the final [578]
distribution serious disputes arose between grown siblings over the disposition of
the remainder share. If the children were minors, the property usually went to [429]
the dead man's brothers who were obviously then expected to look after them.

[149] Ultimogeniture, it would seem, can only operate in an agricultural society [121]
when there is no scarcity of cultivatable land. As land shortages developed, a number
of European countries changed within historic time from a system of ultimo- to [171]
primogeniture.

to select mates from their own circles. The poor married each other; half- 581
breeds married half-breeds[150] or orphaned members of the tribe. Sometimes, 178
it is true, an ambitious but poor young man succeeded in marrying a wealthy [557]
but considerably older woman; sometimes a father of a poor but beautiful
daughter succeeded in marrying her off to a wealthy husband; sometimes a
rich herder preferred a poor son-in-law whose labor he could exploit. But
the lines remained clearly drawn. Rarely were the "newly rich" able to
crash the "old society."

Today another trend is visible. Numerous marriages have taken place 556
between the children of the "newly rich" and the children of those cattle- 581
breeding families who went into farming around 1910. These are the fami- 178
lies that have cash incomes, good houses, good clothes, good automobiles.
It is now the impoverished horse owner who is the undesirable. His children
are marrying the poor and the orphaned.[151]

Summary.—After a decade of prosperity, an accident of climate created 178
a social upheaval among the Blood. The cold winters of 1919 and 1920 prac- 231
tically annihilated the cattle and reduced the erstwhile successful herder to [731]
penury, at least in terms of a money economy. But he still possessed suffi-
cient *horse wealth to validate his prestige as he had* always done. *His* [556]
waning security, however, led to a compulsive buying of privilege, more [754]
particularly in the Horn Society, whose members' power to sorcerise may
well have been an added inducement during this time of deprivation.[152] [575]

The farmers suffered also, but only temporarily. With their profits from [424]
wheat they bought up the few remaining cattle, and made no effort to com- 511
pete for recognition with their few horses. They continued to improve their 178
land and buildings, to furnish their houses comfortably, to dress their wives
and children in style. The drought and depression of the early thirties, [657]
however, forced many of them on the relief rolls of the agency. Discouraged
they have ceased to cultivate their crops. Today, the better land is being [425]
concentrated in the hands of the few.

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[150] Most of the half-breeds on the Blood Reserve are the children of Indian women [563]
and white traders (see story of Revenge Walker, p. 11). They are known by the
name of their father (Creighton, Davis, Gladstone, Beebe, etc.).

[151] No formal statistics on marriages were collected, but the present statement [123]
of trends seems justified by remarks of informants, direct observation, and an ex- [127]
amination of marriages recorded by the agency census.

[152] Clyde Kluckhohn, *Navajo Witchcraft*. Discussing a rise in the last two years [171]
"in the number of persons whom gossip accuses as witches," he writes: "While
this increase . . . may also be connected with the relative economic prosperity
of this interval, I am inclined to regard both the witchcraft and the ceremonial
phenomena as alternative responses directed toward the preservation of a badly
disturbed equilibrium." Cf. also A. I. Hallowell, *Psychological Characteristics of
the Northeastern Indians*, MSS.

A. [See Categories 578 and 621--Analyst]

homes far removed from the band lands. A member of the Lone-Fighters 621
said, "The bands are all mixed up now," and certainly it is true that a man [361]
would know to what band he belonged, but his information regarding others
was frequently unreliable. Yet, at the Sun Dance in the summer of 1939, [796]
the bands took their places in the camp circle in a recognized order: west to [823]
south, Fisheaters, Pacer-Fisheaters, Hairy-Shirts; south to east, Followers-of-the-Buffalo, Many-Children; east to north, Lone-Fighters; north, Many-Tumors; north to east, Black-Elks.

Even in the distant past the organization of the bands had been loose, 621
and there is little evidence that this recent geographical dislocation weakened their cohesiveness to any substantial degree. It is even possible that 178
the fixed dwellings made it more difficult to change from one to another. Band leadership, on the other hand, has been considerably modified both by political and economic change.

In the nomadic past, a leader's power depended upon strong support 622
from family and band. For this he paid in "generous-giving." "No Black- 556
foot," writes Wissler, "can aspire to be looked upon as a head man unless he 431
is able to entertain well, often invite others to his board, and make a practice
of relieving the wants of his less fortunate band members."[184] Today, a band 657
leader may be called upon to make decisions regarding leaseholds; he may 622
influence the distribution of government property (one informant cynically [661]
observed that all the thirty wagons assigned to the tribe in 1939 found their way into the hands of the chiefs' relatives); he may be called in to help settle disputes; and barring malfeasance, he can expect to hold office for life. But—and this is the crux of the matter—the Canadian Government distributes the rations; the Canadian Government gives credit on seeds, stock, wagons, and tools. The Canadian Government frequently subsidizes
the building of houses and barns. The need to support native leadership is [178]
obviously reduced.

Moreover, the early emphasis on individualistic behavior has survived. [156]
For this reason, the implementation of a government program does not [178]
depend entirely on the assistance of a tribal intermediary, such as the com-
munity leader of the Navaho,[185] the pueblo priests or their secular surro- [171]
gates. Among the Blood, when chiefly authority fails to win cooperation, the Administration can still hope for success by appealing directly to interested members of the tribe.

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[184] *Ibid.*, p. 23. Cf. also Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 42) who points out that the authority of chiefs in the buffalo period increased when they had a monopoly of the fur trade and weakened when they were faced with intra-tribal competition.

[185] Solon T. Kimball and John H. Provinse, *Navajo Social Organization in Land Use Planning*, pp. 18-25.

778 The final public gesture was revealing. After a ceremonial capture and
437 days spent in negotiation, the concluding phase of the transfer was reached. Mounted on a painted horse and carrying the pipe on his back, Harvey returned to the tipi of the seller. Outside were ranged the horses to be paid. In due time, the seller emerged, danced up a small aisle opened by the spectators, scrutinized the horses carefully, and slowly nodded his acceptance. The bargain was struck. In this business-minded community a seller is not always satisfied, however; then additional horses must be brought in or the deal is called off even at this late hour.

778 Buying a bundle is a protection, a responsibility, a means of enhancing
182 prestige, and a speculation. But—symptom of the changing times—cere-
[178] monial consummation may have to wait: Harvey Fleet Foot held up the Sun Dance for three days. He had to cultivate his fields.

V. Some Further Aspects of Contemporary Interpersonal Relations

Men and Women

562 Women as a class have benefited from reserve life for the white man's law
● 657 now protects their property and person. Serious assault and murder are
586 severely punished. As early as 1883, one agent noted the results with a certain regret: "As the old law of cutting off a woman's nose for leaving her husband is done away with, women do as they like."[176] And desertion no longer relieves the erring husband of all responsibility. But it must be admitted that official interference in this last, though encouraged by the outraged wife, has proven none too effective; the abandoned woman and her children usually return to her parents for consolation and support.

562 The law has also favored women in matters of inheritance. In an earlier
428 day, most of them, to be sure, owned some property; a few, through gift or
178 medicine power, owned considerable, and in the late buffalo period, many seem to have expected a substantial share in the paternal inheritance.[177] Wissler, writing in 1910, observes, "... nothing goes to the widow. She may, however, retain her own personal property to the extent of that brought with her at marriage. She may claim, though not always with success, the offspring of her own horses."[178] Today, "though not always with
[177] success," she claims a good deal more. Bulwarked by white example and force, she demands not only a stake in her father's estate but in her husband's as well.

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[176] 1883, Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 176.

[177] See story of Red Crow's sister, Revenge Walker, p. 11 ff. A

[178] Wissler, *Social Life*, p. 27.

A.[See Categorie: 578 and 621--Analyst]

159 "Go home you *minipoka,*" you child of plenty. Herbert is still dependent upon the uncertain bounty of his wife's family. When Helen needs a can of tomatoes she asks her father for ten cents.

VII. CONCLUSION

178 Blood society in the buffalo days was highly individualistic and competitive.
105 In the reserve period, it remained so, but with certain differences.

571 The old society, despite its basically competitive character, required
considerable cooperation in order to function at all. Buffalo hunting, the
[181] essential economy, depended on communal effort and group discipline. Effective policing demanded a continuing solidarity within the men's societies. The need for joint defence encouraged neighborliness and restraint within the camp circle. A leader to win enduring support had to be generous. A follower to earn a just reward had to be loyal.

● 657 In the new situation, much of this was changed. The buffalo "went out
178 of sight" and the cooperative mechanisms, which had operated against
571 considerable odds even in the preceding decades, lost their most significant
105 functions. The disciplinary duties of the men's societies were confined to
the few weeks of the Sun Dance (throughout the year, the agency police maintained order on the reserve). The new economies, even more than the old, stressed individual ownership and individual performance. No longer fearing attack, the Blood built their substantial houses and barns on separated homesteads. Leader and follower no longer looked to each
[657] other for loyalty and support. In the new society, the government agency became the "generous giver."

The substitution of an impersonal government agency for a freely chosen band leader offered a more certain security on the material level, but reduced the need for mutual help and joint responsibility among the members of the tribe. The new economies, however, made community action even less necessary. Alone, or with one or two helpers, a Blood can successfully cultivate his own acres and care for his stock. What cooperation exists rarely goes beyond a father and his sons, a father-in-law and son-in-law, or a couple of brothers. Generosity, which in most cases was little more than a means of winning support and keeping it, now operates within an increasingly restricted circle—and with increasing rarity. Gestures of hospitality are still made, but they are quickly regretted. A wife's brother or father may still help in the purchase of ceremonial privilege, but such occasions are none too frequent at best and many families shun them altogether.

[121] Within a continuing competitive framework, program and accident at different periods of time affected various groups in the society differently.[121]

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[121] Ralph Linton, *Acculturation and Processes of Culture Change*, p. 468.

The response of these groups to government policy was dictated primarily 657 by two factors, tradition and reward. The first did not necessarily obstruct 178 acceptance; in many instances it strongly recommended it. Reward, if great enough, needed no apologist, but it was weighed in relation to advantages already offered by the society. These advantages were real not sentimental. The hostility of the cattle herders to the agricultural experiment in 1910 was due to their desire to preserve their considerable success in stock-breeding, not to any bond with their more remote hunting past. And again, the quick divorce of a money economy from a horse economy by those who began to farm in 1910 must be laid, not to any innate intellectual superiority, but to the fact that they had had the smallest stake in the benefits offered by their society.

In essence, the aim of the Canadian Government was to make these Indians self-supporting within the limits of their reservation. Its actual programs were largely paternalistic, yet neither the assurance of rations, nor release from the worries of marketing, nor the earlier possibility of acquiring good land for the asking, has succeeded in resolving the social conflicts in the Blood community. Competitive and rivalrous trends, which functioned destructively in the buffalo past, find ample expression in the more recent present. To be sure, the authority of the reserve has considerably reduced the serious assaults against life and property, but restraint, as the occasions for joint enterprise decrease, appears even less necessary than in the raiding period. In 1939, these "turbulent" Indians were still "exceedingly jealous among themselves"; they still had "frequent quarrels" which might "end in bloodshed or death"; and they still pursued the individualistic goals that had dominated their society for more than a century and a quarter.

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case, as where there was more than one wife, was a woman sent away, for 593
above all the preservation of the household was primary. 571

Of course, unfaithfulness reflected unfavorably also on the reputation of 837
the woman's family. Thus, a wife's male relative in cases where the woman 684
was at fault cooperated in the attempts at education and sanctioned this
severe treatment. In fact, this constituted a bond of interest between a wife's [554]
relatives and her husband. During the actual fracas between husband, wife [606]
and co-respondent, the person expected to restore equilibrium was the elder
brother or father of the co-respondent. He, seeking to reduce the tension
between the families, would send horses to the aggrieved husband. No rebuke would be given a son who was co-respondent not only because the woman was theoretically responsible, but, as one informant expressed it, "because the father would think back to the days when he was young and understand how his boy felt."

Generally the strength of the conjugal family varies inversely with the 593
strength of the blood bonds. Curiously, however, Plains individualism to 571
the point of anarchy served to maintain the strength of both. When the
irritations of the authority of one's elders became too great, one might [182]
establish his own tipi if economically possible. But the instability of the [154]
marriage bond often sent one back to renew the relationship with people of one's own blood. At one end the security of a man of accomplishment was in his own tipi of wives and children; at the other extreme, with complete failure of all endeavors, security could be found in the group of his own blood as refuge.

Current Changes in Kinship

With the settling of the Blackfoot on a reservation, three main changes 657
have occurred. The old economy disappeared, and in its place agriculture 178
and herding under white management have been substituted. With this
change the nomadic mode of life has been replaced by a semi-sedentary life
within the limits of an Indian reserve. The band as the social unit for defen- [621]
sive war, residence and hunting, has disintegrated into its component units, [596]
the extended families. Whites have moved into southern Alberta, where
they have engulfed the reserve. Though the Blackfoot, because of their [177]
status as treaty Indians, live separately from the Whites, the latter influence Blackfoot institutions.

In what ways has the kinship terminology been influenced by these 561
changes? The majority of such changes can be subsumed under an extension 601
of the principle of age-grading with reference to ego and ego's father. While
formerly all the women of father's family were termed "grandparent," 177
today father's younger sister becomes ego's "older sister," or "younger sib- 178

561 ling." Even in mother's family age-grading shows its effects: Mother's
601 mother's brother is often called "grandparent" today. His age difference
177 with reference to ego makes the former term of address seem inappropriate.
The women of mother's family tend to be addressed in terms appropriate to
178 their age, so that the mother's older sister may occasionally be termed
"grandparent" rather than mother, if she seems to be considerably older
than ego. In the corresponding generations below ego the term "younger
sibling" is rather loosely applied on the basis of age. Thus a younger brother
and his son may both be called "younger sibling" when the difference in age
is not very great. If the age difference is greater, the son of a younger sibling
would be called "grandson." Similarly for a male speaker, the children
through the female line of sister tend to be called "grandchildren" as soon as
the age difference becomes great enough. This is now preferred to addressing
them as "younger sibling." In keeping with this change is the disappearance
of the term "grandparent" as applied to the female paternal cross-cousin.

571 This change reflects a social trend on the reservation toward gerontocracy.
● 657 There exists a definite nostalgia for the buffalo days when the Black-
888 foot were not a dependent minority. Those who actually experienced hunting
[554] and the warpath thereby acquire prestige. In turn those nearer in age to
the glorious past share a diminishing portion of this glory. The sons of renowned
warriors take pride in knowing in detail the exploits of their fathers.
Through the mere change from a nomadic to a sedentary life the authority
of the old has also been enhanced. Formerly, limitation of authority was
achieved by the universal right of a man to move to the jurisdiction of some
other less irritating authority. Though the right is still recognized to-day,
freedom of movement from the effects of this authority is more difficult on a
reserve. In the recent past a man deserted his wife and children to live with
[762] another woman. Bound to the reserve, he faced daily social censure for his
acts until he terminated his marginal position by suicide. Moreover, the
freedom of action under an authority is smaller, if only because the authority
[621] is closer to its object. The band made up of various related kinsmen or
[596] clusters of kinsmen has dissolved into extended families. With this change
many of the economic and political functions of the band chiefs have
[182] devolved upon the head of the extended family, a smaller and more intimate
[622] group than the band. Hence, evasion of responsibility is less likely today.
[428] In addition certain factors have increased the force of this authority, primarily
[177] the increased importance of inheritance. Having adopted white techniques
of living and white means of production, with all that house, furnishings,
and farm implements imply, the number of objects to be transmitted
at death has increased. Indeed, the value of these objects has also increased
in view of the ritual required to obtain them in the white economy. Thus,
through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old
have increased their power.

through the power of the elders over the transmission of property, the old 000
have increased their power.

This general increase in authority of the aged has not been made without 657
sacrifice in some spheres. Specifically, the final economic and political author- 596
ity now lies with the agency. However, within the frame of white authority 571
many decisions remain in the hands of the extended family. Among these 561
are the choice of residential site on unoccupied land, caring for the aged 178
beyond the allotted rations of food and clothing, designating among the
group of dependents those who shall carry out specific duties, and the man-
agement of certain undertakings such as trapping and horse raising. The [797]
missionary schools have assumed control over the young children and now
sanction, and even try to arrange, the initial marriage of a young man with [584]
a girl ready to leave the school. However, the head of an extended family may exert influence after the school years are over and select mates for subsequent marriages of his kinsmen. At the same time the younger, active men are usually in immediate control of farm production, the cattle, and the labor in the agency-operated coal mine. Indeed, there have been many instances of reserve cleavage based on the interests of the young "progressives" as pitted against the old conservatives. However, though the young speak vehemently in meetings against the authority of the old, when the issues call for action, few turn against the venerated authority of the elders.

III. NORTHERN BLACKFOOT KINSHIP TERMS*

1. *naa'xs'*, "my grandparent." 601
   - (*a*) Male of father's family or its collateral who is older than father; his wife.
   - (*b*) Female (and her husband) of father's family or its collateral who is of father's generation or antecedent generations (note exception under *5d*, *6d* and *7c*).
   - (*c*) Mother's father and his sibling; his or her spouse; mother's mother and her female sibling; her spouse.
   - (*d*) Sister considerably older than ego (alternative form, cf. 5).
   - (*e*) (Male speaker.) Wife's mother; wife's father; wife's father's sibling or his or her spouse; wife's mother's sister or her spouse.
   - (*f*) (Female speaker.) Member of husband's family older than husband; his or her spouse.
   - (*g*) (Rare with female referent.) Descendant of the female line of father's sister; her husband.
2. *nın.'a*, "my father."
   - (*a*) Father; comrade of father, i.e., age mate of father (cf. 16).
   - (*b*) Husband of mother's sister.
   - (*c*) (Male or unmarried female speaker.) Husband of a female in mother's generation who is a descendant of mother's parents' sibling.

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* All terms, once defined according to Blackfoot usage, will be so used in defining additional terms.

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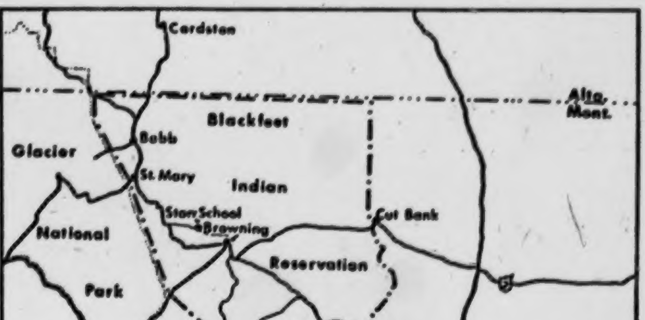
● 657

BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION AND ENVIRONS


Cardston
Alta.
Mont.
Blackfeet
Indian
Reservation
Glacier
National
Park
Babb
St. Mary
Starr School
Browning
Cut Bank
Heart Butte
Great
Falls
Legend
Highway
Secondary Highway
National Park Boundary
Reservation Boundary
Miles
0 5 10 15 20
N

592 dependents than the 1921 households. Of all sample households in 1966,
162 21 (33 per cent) have miscellaneous dependents, yet only fifteen (9 per
128 cent) of the households in 1921 had such dependents. This difference
is significant at the .05 level.

Another and more revealing comparison shows that the eighteen miscellaneous kin or non-kin in the 1921 households comprised only about two per cent of the total household population while the 33 miscellaneous dependents in 1966 account for eight per cent of the total of 394 persons.

592 These figures show that, if this trend continues, one-third or
161 more of the households in the future are likely to have miscellaneous
128 kin or non-kin who are not part of the immediate nuclear family kin unit
and that one in ten (and likely more) persons will end up in the house-
592 hold of someone other than his own or that of his parents. In the past,
161 one in seven households had miscellaneous kin or non-kin and one in
128 fifty persons was a dependent of this type. Only three of the nineteen
736 miscellaneous dependents in the households of the past were younger
than 21 while 24 of 33 in 1966 are younger than 21. Most of the 24 are
with someone other than their parents because of illegitimate births,
[434] marital separations, and overcrowding. Young dependents are an economic
[657] asset to those who host them (excepting their parents who often are not
married or have too many mouths to feed as it is) because their presence
qualifies the hosts for ADC payments. There has been a definite relative and absolute reduction of elder miscellaneous dependents. Erstwhile elder dependents are presently heading grandparent-grandchild or multiple-family households. A reduction of childhood mortality rates

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 54]

476 mutual assistance between 1 and 5.
592 Land owned by Number 17 is contiguous with land owned by Number
474 1. Number 17 provides equipment and labor for Number 1 and receives a
178 portion of the hay crop in return for his services. The same assistance
128 is given to Number 5, and 5, in turn, gives a portion of his crops to
Number 17.

The conjugal pairs in the G° generation who head units 1 and 5 are conjugal pairs in the first descending generation in the same units in the 1921 sample. The extended family household, indicated by the letter A and headed by a male in the G^1 generation, provides more than half of the labor for unit Number 1. Extended family "B", headed by a divorced female in generation G^1 is only casually involved in the ranch operation. She owns a few cattle and her former spouse assisted with labor.

592 The income from these three enterprises is not substantial,
474 quantity of land and livestock are not sufficient to maintain individual
434 families. The male in G° (unit Number 1) could not sustain himself
464 without help from his son-in-law and male "a." The two males with large
families both drive school buses in the winter months to supplement
their income and the female spouse of the head of extended family A
592 works part-time to bring in additional needed income. Furthermore, the
434 dependent nuclear family in extended family household A set up a
464 separate household on the paternal grandmother's land while I was in
Heart Butte in 1967. The young male now works in Browning full-time.
[657] The female head in extended family household B receives ADC, and her

592 434 464 [657] married daughter receives an allowance from her spouse who is in the U. S. Army. Thus, the cattle enterprises described in detail here are closely interlocked with one another and the enterprises themselves are clearly not sufficiently productive to support the large number of persons in the co-op units.

128 434 592 [657] The Bureau of Indian Affairs estimates that at least 200 cattle (a self-sustaining herd) and approximately twenty acres per animal are necessary to support a single, debt-free family. On this basis, the five households in Diagram VI would need a combined total of 1,000 animals and 20,000 acres (on a per household basis). I do not know the specific number of animals or acres now controlled, but I do know that resources, in each case, are marginal. The fact that supplemental cash resources are needed (wage labor, ADC, etc.) and that intensive pooling of labor and equipment is conducted, attest to shortages of agricultural and financial resources. Ranching by itself does not provide these families with sufficient incomes; other sources are needed to allow them some independence.

592 474 233 I have not as yet discussed unit Number 15 in the 1921 sample. This unit is still viable, as I mentioned below, and was until 1970 headed by the unmarried male shown in the diagram of the 1921 co-op. I did not interview the now deceased elder head, but I learned that he operated a ranch with two married sons, both of whom lived adjacent to their father's home. The three families controlled more than 20,000 acres of heirship land and land leased from others. This unit shows that the 1921 pattern of operating the ranch with lineal kin linked

563 (range: 17.5 to 153 acres), the fifteen one-half bloods 630 acres or
241 42 acres each (range: 3 to 235), five one-quarter bloods 33 acres, or
311 6.6 acres per farmer (range: 1 to 20 acres), the single five-eighths
blood and the single three-eighths blood ten acres each, the three
three-quarters blood six acres each and the single fifteen-sixteenths
blood cultivated five acres each. The 42 full blood farming household
heads farmed an aggregate of 103 acres, or 2.5 acres per farmer (range:
three-quarters of an acre to 10 acres).

[128] Chart I shows the differential representation between acres
cultivated and racial composition of farming household heads.

As can be seen in the chart, those who were one-half or less Indian account for 90 per cent of the acreage (1,300 of 1,446) and these farmers make up but 40 per cent of the 79 farmers (32 of 79). The nine White farmers (ten per cent of farmers) used 33 per cent of the cultivated land. Also, if one considers the combination of White with one-eights bloods (eleven farmers, or sixteen per cent of farmers) we see that these account for 46 per cent of all cultivated acres (642 of 1,446).

423 It must be remembered here that all tribal members were allotted
● 657 the same number of acres, including, of course, the allotted Indian
425 wives of White farmers. Between 1908 and 1912, the allotment years,
each tribal member was given the option of receiving 320 acres of
[311] grazing land or 280 acres of grazing land and 40 acres of farm land.
563 Most chose grazing land, according to Ewers (1954). However, by 1920
177 more than 200,000 acres had been purchased largely by White men, often
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 84]

563 through fraudulent means, from Indians who had received fee patents on
177 their land. This occurred within just two years following the issuance
425 of fee patents. How many Heart Butte and Old Agency District tribal
members had sold out by 1921 I do not know.

241 Ewers argues that many full-bloods did not wish to farm and did
114 not choose to receive, through allotment, land located within the reach
563 of irrigation canals constructed at the turn of the century. Although
Ewers' assertions are undoubtedly valid, we see from the data presented here for the Old Agency District that many full-bloods did attempt to farm during the Five-Year agricultural program (they made up over half
563 the total farmers). It is apparent from the figures given here that
241 White farmers married to allotted Blackfeet women generally used their
business and agricultural acumen to make the best of acreages available to them; this applies to one-half blood Indian farmers as well for they too made considerably more use of land. The full-bloods, presumably generally less experienced, could not or did not enlarge their operations. The differential use, or denial of, access to resources left the full-bloods clearly at the bottom.

177 One can well imagine some of the full-blood Indians' reactions to
651 Campbell's interviews and program. Language was one obvious barrier,
as the survey records indicated, but hostility and timidity were likely important in full-bloods' reluctance to push aggressively for more seed and equipment. Campbell (1921) occasionally threatened those who did not comply with his demands for participation in the program with withdrawal of annuities (which all tribal members had a right to receive).

592 of the total. I will discuss this larger sample in more detail momen-
594 tarily.

596 The Browning household pattern contrasts significantly in the
128 occurrence of multiple-family households. I will show that though
369 fewer families in my Browning sample cluster under a single roof, there
592 is considerable inter-household economic cooperation where such coopera-
594 tion is possible. A family in Browning can better manage a single
369 dwelling in some respects, as compared with the rural setting. Trans-
128 portation, for example, is not as much of a problem to those in Browning
[594] since one can easily walk to his job, grocery stores, etc., whereas in
the rural districts transportation assistance is often required when a
family alone cannot afford the convenience of a private vehicle.
592 Secondly, and more importantly, ADC-recipient matrifocal household
657 heads receive more assistance in Browning in securing quarters through
369 the welfare offices. Another factor is the relative scarcity of avail-
362 able low income kin with whom some of the low and unstable income
[602] families in Browning can join under one roof. The kinship network in
602 the rural districts is more tightly knit, with more frequent economic
369 interchanges between closely related families.

Browning is more urbanized in the sense that atomization and isolation of kin units occur with greater frequency. This is relative, however, because in Browning one finds a good deal of mutual, kin-based aid, as I will discuss below.

124 While in Browning I secured additional household composition data
127 from random sources so as to obtain a larger sample than the 39 household

592 $1800) show the low income positions for these family types compared
434 with others in the diagram. An explanation of the eighteen exceptions
128 in Table 23 will lend additional support to my principal hypothesis.

Eight of the low income families are female-headed. Five of
these are grandparent-grandchild households headed by four elderly
● (657) widows and one elderly divorcee. In all of these cases the elder females support their dependent grandchildren on ADC payments or meager
(464) pensions. In only one case does the elder head partially depend upon
the earnings of a resident grandchild (a female whose adult grandson
592 earns about $500 per annum firefighting). However, all of these house-
434 holds receive some aid from kinsmen who reside near them in Browning.
476 In only one instance is financial aid substantial; among the remainder
602 assistance takes the form of baby-sitting, house-keeping, transportation
and occasional food. Frequently some aid is given in return--baby-sitting, food, and house-keeping. Mutual emotional support is frequent in all cases. Most of the elderly household heads seem to manage on their ADC or other meager sources of income, although their financial circumstances at times are exceedingly precarious.

The remaining three female-headed households shed a somewhat different light on the low income, independent nuclear families. These three households are headed by young females (all are 27 years of age) with two or three offspring. All are divorcees. Two of them lived with closely related families in the past but had finally managed to pull together enough ADC income to reside alone with their children. All three receive substantial economic and labor assistance from their consanguines.

563 (Ibid.). This, like the figures given in Chapter III concerning Indian
433 and non-Indian ranching and farming on the reservation, further illustrates how very narrow the resource base is for tribal members.

433 The following figures shed additional light on the reservation's
434 economy. In 1970 individual Indian leases brought in $875,487, or
427 about $136 per capita. This is an important figure. This income, small as it is, is vital to the tribal members who receive this form of revenue because, as we have seen, about twenty per cent of the rural family income is derived from this source, as is a significant portion of the Browning family income. Undesirable as the leasing of one's own land to others might be, tribal members do not wish to lose this income. Leasing fractionated land parcels is about the only way of realizing
● [651] some income from the land. For this and other reasons termination of frederal services is a frightening prospect.

316 I also note that mineral leases play an important role in the
427 reservation economy, particularly in the funding of the tribal govern-
433 ment. In 1969 more than $350,000 came to the tribe (not individuals) from this source, and individual mineral leases yielded $71,000 (Ibid.).

433 But all the resources cited (White-controlled or otherwise) would not support the on-reservation tribal members in a middle class style.

128 I now briefly describe the private business end of the reservation
433 economy as a final observation. I do not include in these observations federal employment, which as we have seen, makes up a critical share of the Browning family incomes. Nor do I include some incidental sources

177 changes in Blackfeet culture, but on the whole, the Indians made an
175 orderly adaptation to the changing ecological and cultural conditions
[182] for another sixty-five years after Thompson's visit.[3] The Blackfeet
experienced a period of cultural elaboration rather than of disruption and decline, so that ethnographers describe the migrant buffalo-hunting tribe of the mid-nineteenth century as racially, socially and culturally homogeneous.

657 The last decades of that century, however, were times of
178 radical change. The buffalo, the keystone of the Blackfeet economy,
[136] were decimated, and the Indians became dependent upon the United States
[177] government for subsistence. The Blackfeet were confined to a reserva-
tion and both ecological conditions and the policies of the dominant society forced change upon them.[4]

177 Now, approximately eighty years later, a Blackfeet tribe remains
184 in a small portion of its original territory, but the intervening
events have markedly changed its composition, social organization, and cultural characteristics. The tribe is no longer homogeneous. Its members reflect the changes that have taken place during the years of acculturation--changes brought about as members of two societies, each organized and guided by differing cultural directives, adjusted to each other and to changing conditions. Even a casual observer becomes aware

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[3] John C. Ewers ("The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture," Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 159, 1955), and Oscar Lewis in The Effects of White Contact Upon the Blackfoot Culture, with Special Reference to the Role of the Fur Trade ("Monographs of the American Ethnological Society," No. 6; Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1942) describe these changes.

[4] Both the mid-nineteenth century culture and subsequent changes will be the subject of a later chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE BLACKFEET RESERVATION AND ITS PEOPLE

Introduction

657 The Blackfeet Indian Reservation, as a geographical region
571 with definable borders, can be described by the usual environmental
619 concepts. The people who live here, however, cannot be treated so
101 simply, because the population is greater than the membership of the Blackfeet tribe for whom the reservation was established. Both whites and Indians live here, and among the latter are found both members and non-members of the tribe. Yet all share many political, economic and sociocultural activities that make up the general way of life of this region, and of the counties within which the reservation lies, the state of Montana and the United States of America.

This is an American community and exhibits many of the social and cultural dimensions of such a community. But, it differs because it is located on an Indian reservation and the bulk of the population is Indian. These people are Indians in addition to being citizens of the United States, Montana, county and town.

101 For this reason the discussion is presented in two parts;
128 (1) a description of the economic, political and social dimensions that are shared by the greatest number of the people of the region, and (2) an examination of the unique and particular cast given to these dimensions because this is a reservation for Indians. By this means an adequate summary of the environmental, social and cultural

132 All-in-all this is a region of definite and intense weather, be it either hot, cold, wet, dry, calm or windy. A man can either lean into the wind or go with it, either seek protection from the cold and heat or endure these when necessary. The climate is an environmental phenomenon that requires active accommodation or adaptation.

The Regional Population and Socio-Economic Characteristics

Population

657 The reservation includes portions of two counties. Approximately 70% of Glacier county's 2,974 square mile area and perhaps 40 to 45% of its 11,565 population are included within reservation boundaries. The southern portion of the reservation incorporates approximately 17% of Pondera county's 1,643 square mile area and about 7% of its 7,653 population. [161] [361] The average density of population for the region is 3.9 persons per square mile in Glacier county and 4.7 in Pondera. Major concentrations of people in the area are in its small towns, the largest of which is Cut Bank, the Glacier county seat, with a population of 4,539 persons, followed by Browning with 2,011, East Glacier on the western reservation line with 350, and Valier, the county seat of Pondera, with 724.[36] Other towns and hamlets will be introduced later.

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[36] U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of the Population: 1960, Number of Inhabitants, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28A, 1960, p. 12. The East Glacier population figure is from Rand McNally International World Atlas (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1961), p. 32A.

311 [241] portions but have more frost free days, and have been utilized to a greater extent for both dry and irrigation farming. Principal crops are wheat, barley and hay.

382 433 Oil and natural gas production and refining are important industries, with the principal producing fields lying just to the east of the reservation limits. This proximity to active fields has encouraged exploration throughout the whole region, and oil lease money and bonus payments for leasing rights have provided a fluctuating but important prop to the local economy. There is little manufacturing or lumbering, although a strip along the western foothills, adjoining National forests and Glacier Park, has a lumber potential.

433 The population, with an economic base of beef, wool, grain and hay, also supports businesses, services, schools, churches and 366 government. Banking and financing institutions are available in 657 Cut Bank, Browning, Conrad and Valier. The needy aged, blind, disabled, and dependent children are provided for by county public welfare system established by state law and financed by tribal, county, state and federal funds.[37]

Politics

641 The people of Glacier and Pondera counties are citizens of the United States and of the state of Montana. They participate in national and state politics and in the county, precinct, school district and town governments according to their places of residence. Reservation

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[37] The Montana Almanac, op. cit., pp. 309-311.

Regional Summary

105 From this brief description it can be seen that the reservation shares a physical environment greatly similar to that of adjoining regions in Montana, and that its population participates in the life of county, state and nation in much the same way as its surrounding neighbors. The people are United States citizens and share in the United States economy; they work for wages, farm, ranch, and engage in the businesses, services and government familiar to that economy. They all send their children to the public schools, attend similar churches, and have in their midst the usual church, social and civic organizations. With few exceptions they wear the same kind of clothing, live in houses, drive automobiles, and enjoy the same radio and television programs. The expected rural American class structure appears to be present.[39]

101 There are, however, some characteristics that make this area and its people different from the surrounding regions and populations. The major factors contributing to this separation appear to be:

● [657] 1. A homeland has been reserved within the country for tribal members and the use and disposal of this land is restricted by governmental regulations.

[641] [829] 2. The tribal members are defined legally as Indians. Like other ethnic groups, Indians are usually recognized by themselves and others as a separate social category. This is the social definition of an ethnic. In addition the Indian has been given a legal status which further sets him apart from the general citizenry.

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[39] The class structure will be analyzed in a later chapter. A

A. [See Category 116, pp. 169-194--Analyst]

101 [641] 3. The Indian is a conquered indigen, not an immigrant. This factor has possible social implications but will not be examined in this study.

The Reservation Population and Socio-Economic Characteristics

The Reservation

423 425 ●657 The present Blackfeet reservation includes 1,525,671 acres of land of which 836,754.52 are allotted to individuals with the title held in trust by the United States Government.[40] Approximately one-third of the total land within reservation boundaries, or 530,391.19 acres, has been alienated from trust status. In other words, the Indian allottees have been officially declared competent to handle their own affairs and fee patent titles to their individual allotments have been granted. Some persons have retained their land in fee patent, while others have sold the land either to other tribal members or to whites. Consequently all land within the reservation borders is no longer owned exclusively by tribal members.

657 [427] The reservation also includes 9,037 acres of submarginal government land which has been leased by the tribe and re-leased by them to ranchers for grazing use. The remaining 14,019 acres of the reservation have been reserved by the United States for Agency and reclamation purposes.

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[127] [40] These and the following acreage figures are from unpublished documents of the Blackfeet Tribal Council, verified by the Land Office of the Blackfeet Indian Agency, and represent the conditions as of February 1, 1960. The allotment of Blackfeet land is discussed in Chapter V.A

A. [See Category 116, pp. 59-84--Analyst]

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657 The lands held in trust or reserve have been given a use classification according to soil, vegetation and availability of water, and the leasing of land to an ultimate user is governed by these classifications. Slightly over one-half of the total reservation, 779,523 acres of trust held land, is classified as grazing land, 82,000 acres as dry farming land and 23,860 acres (served by canal systems) is allocated for irrigation farming use.

423
657 The ownership of mineral rights on reservation lands is complex. The original allotment, under the act of 1907 to be discussed later, vested both surface and mineral rights in the allottee. The 1919 allotment reserved the mineral rights of the newly allotted land in the name of the Tribe. Subsequent issuance of fee patents and the sales of fee patent lands have included or excluded mineral rights according to the terms of each transaction so that no exact figure for Indian ownership of mineral rights is available. However, the mineral rights for 557,280.50 acres are owned by the Tribe.

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671 Reservation then means land, "a part of the public domain, set aside for use and occupation by a group of Indians."[41] The inhabitants are not restricted to the reservation; they can come and go at will, but on the reservation they are subject to controls that have developed around use of the reservation lands. Certain legal privileges and restrictions have developed from both the interpretations of Federal trust obligations and the past history of Federal-Indian relations.

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[41] U.S., Department of the Interior, Federal Indian Law (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958), p. 20.

423 657 The Blackfeet reservation differs from the surrounding region, then, because approximately two-thirds of the land is held in trust either for individual allottees or the tribe, and its use is governed by Federal laws and directives that do not apply outside the reservation. Alienated lands are not affected directly by such regulations, but a person owning such land finds problems arising over such things as boundaries, trespass, water rights and rights-of-way involve him with trust regulations. Other ramifications of reservation land and related restrictions will be examined in what follows.

Indians and Blackfeet Indians

641 An Indian is a person defined as such by law. But the law has been built over time from decisions made in individual cases so that it is difficult to write an all-inclusive definition. In general a person can be defined as an Indian if he qualifies on two counts: "(a) That some of his ancestors lived in America before its discovery by the Europeans, and (b) that the individual is considered an 'Indian' by the community in which he lives."[42]

A Blackfeet Indian and a member of the Blackfeet Tribe is defined more specifically. Present-day tribal membership is restricted by the Blackfeet Indian Tribal Constitution to persons "of Indian blood whose names appear on the official census roll of the tribe as of January 1, 1935, . . . and [all] children born to any blood member . . . maintaining a legal residence within the territory of the reservation at

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

641 the time of such birth."[43] No limitation is imposed by a necessary degree of Blackfeet descent or "blood." Tribal population figures were stated earlier (see p. 13).

Indian Country

●657 692 An Indian reservation, by its being, introduces legal qualifications that further set apart the area and the people. This is "Indian country," a concept that has been given legal currency. The definitions are diverse and complex, but in essence, Indian country is land owned by, or reserved for, Indians and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.[44] The reservation is one form of Indian country, and the Federal government has jurisdiction over trust lands, and over any problems arising from its occupancy, use, or conveyance. It has reserved jurisdiction over ten "major crimes"[45] committed by Indians against Indians in Indian country. Yet Indian country remains a part of the state in which it is located and non-Indians are subject to all State laws. Indians are subject to State laws only in matters not legally reserved to the Federal government or, by its regulations, to the tribe. Indians also are subject to State law when not in Indian country. The complications arising from such overlapping jurisdictions are considered later in this chapter.

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[43] U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, Constitution and By-Laws for the Blackfeet Tribe of the Blackfeet Indian Reservation Montana (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 1.

[44] See Federal Indian Law, op. cit., pp. 12-17 for further discussion.

[673] [45] Ibid., p. 320, lists the ten major crimes: murder, manslaughter, rape, assault with intent to kill, arson, burglary, larceny, robbery, incest, and assault with a dangerous weapon.

641 non-members in the awarding of grazing or farming leases of trust land,
[427] and tribal members of one-fourth or more degree Indian are given a
[464] preference credit in applications for employment by the Bureau of Indian
Affairs. These are a few of the privileges that go with tribal member-
[473] ship. As members of the corporation, the people also share in the
[434] earnings of the corporation. Periodically the council votes a per
capita payment as a distribution of tribal income in excess of that
required for the operational expenses.

657 Such privileges are offset by some liabilities--particularly
425 for those men who feel competent to handle their own affairs. Trust
lands must be leased through the Agency land office and all use, leasing,
procurement of fee patent titles, and sale of land come under government
supervision. Tribally held trust lands are covered by the same
regulations.

428 The allotment acts provide that the inheritance laws of the
423 state shall govern the distribution of allotted lands upon the death of
[671] an allottee. The laws of Montana recognize disposal of property by
will, and the Federal government recognizes the transfer of trust title,
in whole or in part, by will. In the absence of a will, state laws
define the succession and the shares of an estate each heir shall
receive. The result of fifty years or more of practice has been an
increased fragmentation of original allotments to the point where an
allotment may have as many as fifty owners, or have been portioned out
[427] into a series of plots too small to serve economic ends. The Agency is
charged with the duty of keeping records of such changes in ownership,
and with leasing such lands for the benefit of the owners. A lease

CHAPTER V

BLACKFEET DEPENDENCY AND READAPTATION: 1884-1960

Introduction

731 The unsuccessful hunts of 1883-1884 marked the end of the
175 subsistence pattern on which the Blackfeet had built their culture.
[182] The Indians scoured the region for food, and moved in around the
[657] Agency to ask for help from the Agent. In Blackfeet culture, those
who had food shared it during times of want; the Agent supposedly had
food and as a leader he was now expected to validate his status by
[648] caring for those who had none. The United States government had
acknowledged responsibility for the Blackfeet in the 1855 and subsequent
treaties, but Agency supplies were inadequate to meet famine conditions.
Up to one-fourth of the Piegan perished during the winter of 1883-1884.[92]

178 The Indians had to find a new and meaningful subsistence base,
182 new ways in which to express old values and to maintain prestige and
177 status. At the same time, the government, upon which they were
dependent, pressed them to accept new value and prestige systems.

128 Because of this conflict, the historical review of Blackfeet
acculturation since 1884 includes (1) a statement of the general goals
and attendant values expressed in United States Indian policies of the
period, and (2) a presentation of the means used to further these aims

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[92] Ewers, 1958, op. cit., pp. 293-294.

[1884-1960]

The Period of Dependency, 1884-1935

1884-1891

175 Following the winter of 1883-1884 the first efforts of the
657 Agents were directed toward relieving the famine and providing for the
177 future sustenance of the people. A new Agent made his first report in
the fall of 1884 in which he wrote that he found few results of past
efforts to make the Blackfeet sedentary and self-supporting farmers.[98]
During the next six years the Agents attempted to build up the Agency
farm and herd, to encourage the Indians to raise grain and produce, and
to forward other programs of "civilization."

From this time on, the dependent Blackfeet were subjected
[625] increasingly to the American concepts of law and order. The Indian
[721] police, under the Agent's direction, were instrumental in eliminating
warfare and horse raiding. In 1888 the Agent reported that Indian
depredations had ceased and there had been no horse stealing during the
[555] preceding year.[99] American pressure against war and horse raiding had
eliminated two more traditional avenues to the acquisition of property
and prestige.

175 In his report of 1888, Agent Baldwin was less optimistic about
657 the agricultural possibilities on the reservation than he had been in
241 previous years.[100] The crops failed in 1889 and 1890, and in 1891 the
[731] Agent reported that no crops had been planted in the past year either
by Indians or by the Agency because of fear of further drought.[101]

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[98] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1884, pp. 106-108.

[99] Ibid., 1888, p. 152. [100] Ibid., pp. 150-152.

[101] Ibid., 1891, p. 265.

[1884-1960]

648 In 1887 the agreement whereby the Blackfeet relinquished claim
175 to the lands to the east of the present reservation boundary was
425 ratified by Congress. In return the United States promised annuities,
[434] in the amount of $150,000 for a period of ten years, to be paid in the
form of goods and services necessary for Indian progress toward
civilization.[102]

175 The first ration of cattle and horses under the agreement was
177 issued in 1890. Agent John Catlin summed up the preceding five years
657 of agricultural endeavor as "commendable," but wrote that the Indians
233 had experienced failure "through no fault of their own." The Indian
241 interest in stock raising led to his recommendation that grazing be
given precedence over agriculture in future programs.[103] Efforts to
establish farming as an economic base had met with little success.

1892-1905

657 By 1892 the Piegan herd had been built up to 6,827 head of
175 cattle and 4,616 head of horses. The Indians were moving out over more
[233] of the reservation and claiming land in anticipation of eventual
[361] allotment. They were beginning to establish herds, build houses and
[246] corrals, and to shift the emphasis of cultivation to raising of hay for
[241] the stock.[104] Each subsequent report emphasized the suitability of the
area for stock raising and reported a substantial increase in the
Indian herds.

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[102] *Ibid.*, 1888, p. 303. [103] *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 114.

[104] *Ibid.*, 1892, pp. 807, 280-281.

175 In 1898 a severe winter and a shortage of feed caused a
657 40 per cent loss among the Indian cattle, and the Irrigation Engineer
233 for the Agency recommended extension of the irrigation canals in order
[242] to increase hay production.[105] Indian ranchers, however, had a chance
to recover from this setback. Additional cattle were included in the
annual issues and stock raising continued.

648 An agreement for the sale of the Rocky Mountain portion of the
175 reservation was approved by the United States government in 1896.[106]
425 The conditions of the sale assured another ten years of annuities after
the obligations under the 1887 treaty had been met.

657 By 1904 the Agent reported a total of 20,509 head of cattle and
433 12,000 head of horses owned by the Blackfeet, and claimed that only
[233] 10 per cent of Indian subsistence had been dependent upon government
issues for that fiscal year.[107] Thus in the first two decades of
dependency the Blackfeet had tried farming and experienced failure.
They were then encouraged to try stock raising and began to make some
economic adaptation as herdsmen.

177 Their *cultural* readaptation, up to this time, had been less
[555] successful than the economic development. The increasing settlement of
the lands around the reservation and the efforts of the police had
ended horse raiding, thus eliminating an important avenue to prestige.
[797] Christian missions, particularly from the Roman Catholic church, had

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[105] *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 187-188.

[106] U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 1897, XXIX, p. 353.

[107] *Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, *op. cit.*, 1904, pp. 610-611, 600.

1905-1920

657 Progress in stock raising continued through 1905 and 1906.
427 The Agent persistently attempted to keep encroaching herds off Indian
[233] pastures, and continued a practice begun in 1904 of issuing leases and
permits to both white and Indian stockmen for grazing privileges on
tribal lands.[112]

657 The economic growth was again reversed by a severe winter in
731 1906 and 1907. The losses among the stock were heavy and "impoverished
[233] some of the industrious and worthy members of the tribe."[113] An
[433] investigation into conditions on the reservation was ordered, and the
investigating officer's report sheds some light on the progress of
economic adaptation to that time.

> [461] He reported that the mixed bloods--about three-eights of the
> tribe--were able generally to take care of themselves, but
> [563] the full bloods as a rule had little knowledge of ranch or
> farm work, were unwilling to stay a reasonable length of time
> in one place or to work where they could not be in parties,
> were very apt to quit on little or no provocation and
> regardless of the interests of the employer . . . .[114]

657 A Federal act of March 1907 provided for the allotment in
425 severalty of the Blackfeet reservation. Each tribal member would
receive 280 acres of grazing land and 40 acres of irrigable land, or
320 acres of grazing land only. Surplus lands would be opened for

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[112] The first such permit recorded was a five-year lease of 2,400 acres to the Conrad Investment Company (Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1904, p. 77). An increasing number of leases are reported for most of the following years.

[113] Ibid., 1907, pp. 13-14. [114] Ibid.

657 public settlement. An appropriation was included for the construction
[425] of an irrigation system for the lands to be allotted.[115] Allotment
[653] surveys and work on the irrigation projects were begun in the two years
[464] following the enactment of the legislation.[116] Irrigation construction
provided an additional source of labor and income for many Indians.

657 The last annuities under the agreement of 1896 were paid in
433 1908. Henceforth Indian rations and aid were dependent upon tribal
income, reimbursable government appropriations, and occasional relief measures. The unanalyzed statistics from the Agents' reports for the next few years give a picture of continuing economic progress for the tribe as a whole.

[464] The first World War relieved some of the pressure on reservation
[722] resources--good weather and abundant crops prevailed generally until
1917; livestock and produce found a ready market at high prices; and many Blackfeet were drawn into the armed forces, thereby reducing the local labor force. But all of this does not reflect accurately the condition of individuals. A process was going on that was slowly segmenting the population.

162 First, the population was growing--from 2,063 in 1905[117] to
563 2,957 in 1920--and becoming increasingly hybridized. Of the total, in
1920, less than half, or 1,141 persons, were full-bloods, while the balance were mixed. Among the mixed-blood population 956 were one-half

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[115] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1907, XXXIV, p. 1035.

[116] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1908, p. 61; 1909, pp. 4-5.

[117] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1905, facing p. 16.

162 or less Indian.[118] Secondly, the individually owned herds were growing
563 and the returns from this business were high, but as the Superintendent
184 wrote in 1918, 3 per cent of the tribe owned 95 per cent of the stock
233 when he reported for duty in 1915.[119] An investigator for the Board of
Indian Commissioners, in November of 1918, found that the full-bloods
were divided as to their capabilities as stockmen. He reported that
"about one-third of the 300 and more full-blood families is incapable
of handling cattle." Another third probably could become cattlemen if
properly instructed and supervised, and the balance of the full-bloods
[563] were doing well at the industry. A number of mixed-bloods had built
prosperous looking ranches and had made "marked successes at this
business."[120]

657 Other forces were already at work that were to alter the uneven
progress of the Blackfeet. Beginning in 1917, the Indian Bureau began
pressing for the rapid reduction of Indian dependency by the removal
[425] of "competent" Indians from trust status.[121] By 1920, 1,011 Blackfeet
had been awarded fee patent title to 312,250 acres[122] under a policy
that was to result in the alienation of reservation lands and the
creation of a large number of landless Indians.

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[118] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1920, p. 67.

[119] U.S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, Blackfeet Indian Reservation, 65th Cong., 2d Sess., 1918, Sen. Rept. 451, p. 3.

[120] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1918, pp. 352-353.

[121] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1917, pp. 3-5.

[122] Ibid., 1920, p. 171.

● 657 A drought cycle began in 1917 and continued for four years.[123]
433 The end of the war, in 1919, resulted in the loss of markets. The
[731] drought and falling prices brought bankruptcy to both cattlemen and
[458] farmers in this part of Montana by 1919 and 1920. Veterans returned to
swell the labor force. The Blackfeet shared in this change. The white
[464] homesteaders and cattlemen could abandon their places and go elsewhere;
the Indian could not and had to rely again upon the government.[124] The
Indian, however, did have the Agency to turn to, an advantage not shared
by the white man. During the winter of 1920-1921 rations were issued to
"over 2,000, or about two-thirds of the entire population."[125] Several
informants reported that their families and friends were ruined at this
[461] time. A few were able to make a comeback, but many abandoned their
ranches and did not try again.

657 In 1919, a second allotment of reservation lands was authorized
425 in the annual appropriation bill for the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[126]
After this no further allotments in severalty were made to the Blackfeet
Indians.

433 The Blackfeet generally were again dependent. Thirty-five years
461 of attempted economic readaptation were behind them. They had tried
[233] farming and found it unrewarding. They had found satisfaction in stock
raising, but only a few were able to succeed at this in the face of cold

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[123] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1921, p. 55; Daniel W. Whetstone, Frontier Editor (New York: Hastings House Publishers, Inc., 1956), pp. 145-146.

[124] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1921, p. 56.

[125] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1922, p. 12

[126] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1919, XLI, pp. 16-17.

[1884-1960]

179 657 In 1921 a new and dedicated Agent, Frank C. Campbell, began a "Five Year Program" of subsistence farming and economic development financed by reimbursable Indian Bureau funds. He visited each Indian home and by consultation won support for his program. The Blackfeet were given a sense of participating in their own economy. The Agent consulted with them and made a place for indigenous leaders with whom the people could discuss and resolve their problems.[129]

Campbell remained with them until 1929. His program benefited many people, but others wanted more independence. They wanted to restock and operate their ranches, to continue their own operations with a minimum of governmental interference.[130] Nevertheless, the Five Year Programs gave many persons a sense of accomplishment and helped carry the Indians through a period of widespread hard times.

657 425 The wholesale granting of competency and fee patents was halted in 1926 when it was recognized that "the lands of a vast majority of Indians who had been given absolute control of their allotments [had] passed from Indian ownership in various ways. . . ."[131]

657 179 The cycle of success and failure was not broken by the Five Year Plans, however. The enthusiasm, of both the Indians and the Agents died down in the years between 1929 and 1935 and the greater number of the Blackfeet returned to economic dependency.[132]

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[129] Annual Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners, op. cit., 1923, p. 47; ibid., 1925, pp. 22-23.

[130] Ewers, 1958, op. cit., pp. 322-323.

[131] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1926, pp. 10-11.

[132] Ewers, 1958, op. cit., pp. 323.

[1884-1960]

653 In 1933 the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) and the
657 Civilian Conservation Corps (C.C.C.) programs were established to
meet national unemployment and the benefits were extended to Indian
[464] reservations.[133] Like the irrigation construction of earlier years,
these programs provided a source of seasonal cash labor, an important
prop to the economy, but one that provided little training for permanent
employment on the reservation.

648 At this point in Blackfeet adaptation, new national Indian policies were being formulated. The Meriam Report, a monumental study of the Indian problems published in 1928, questioned the whole doctrine of assimilation of the Indians.

> He who wishes to merge into the social and economic life of the prevailing civilization of this country should be given all practicable aid and advice in making the necessary adjustments. He who wants to remain an Indian and live according to his old culture should be aided in doing so.[134]

648 This, and many other of the recommendations, became official
657 policy with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934.[135]
[425] The act provided, among other things, for the cessation of allotment
[426] of Indian land, a limitation on the sale of restricted Indian land to
others than tribal members, and the establishment of a revolving loan
fund from which Indian corporations could borrow to further either
tribal or individual enterprises. Tribes were authorized to organize

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[133] U.S., Department of the Interior, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1937, p. 218.

[134] Lewis Meriam et al., The Problem of Indian Administration, Institute for Government Research (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1928), p. 28.

[135] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1934, XLVIII, p. 984.

648 and to adopt a constitution, and those who organized were given broad 657 powers of self-government.[136] Organized tribes were also empowered to incorporate and manage tribal properties and income. Actions of both the political and business organizations were subject to approval and review by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In addition, the traditional cultures were given recognition [177] for the first time. A circular sent to all Agencies in 1934 illustrates the sharp reversal from previous communications about Indian cultural practices:

> No interference with Indian religious life or expression will hereafter be tolerated . . . . And it is desirable that Indians be bilingual . . . . The Indian arts are to be prized, nourished, and honored.[137]

The Indians were to have a choice as to course of their development.

The Period of Self-Government, 1935-1960

642 The Blackfeet Constitution and the Blackfeet Corporate Charter 473 were accepted and approved in 1935. The population continued to grow: 162 the report for 1935 lists the membership of the Blackfeet Tribe as 161 3,962 of which 561 were living outside the reservation jurisdiction.[138] 433 The economy improved slowly after the bad years of the early thirties. 233 The stockmen, in particular, were aided by a provision for a repayment [426] cattle pool authorized in 1934.[139] A man could build a herd by borrowing cattle from the pool and repay in kind from the increase.

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[136] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1941, p. 419.

[137] Ibid., 1934, p. 90. [138] Ibid., 1935, p. 163.

[139] See Ibid., 1937, pp. 212-213 for repayment in kind program, and Ibid., 1944, p. 241 for a review of the program.

[1884-1960]

648 The Johnson-O'Malley Act[140] passed in 1934 and amended in
657 1936[141] authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract with a
state or other political units, and with schools, colleges, and private
corporations for educational and medical services, agricultural
[871] assistance, social welfare and relief for Indians. The Annual Report
for 1934 stated that the Browning schools were assuming the task of
educating the Blackfeet children from that district.[142]

177 The majority of the Blackfeet still were attempting to make
readaptation to the immediate present, to find success in a new
economic endeavor. They were pressed to close a wide cultural gap in
a short period of time, and to make things more difficult, the national
433 economy would not stand still. Ranching and farming were changing in
178 both production and marketing practices. One summary statement in
1957 recognized the course of this change.

> The trend toward larger farm and ranch units in Montana has existed since 1920. Original acreages under the homestead laws proved too small for profitable farming and gradually the more successful operators acquired additional land. The advent of power machinery about 1925 greatly accelerated this trend.[143]

The Indian's future on small subsistence farms of 80 acres, or
on a ranch using a 360 to 420 acre grazing allotment, was not promising.
[427] A successful operation required the use of leased land and adequate
[426] capital. The heirship status of individual trust lands made leasing

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[140] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1934, XLVIII, p. 596.

[141] Ibid., 1936, XLIX, p. 1498.

[142] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1934, p. 85.

[143] The Montana Almanac, op. cit., p. 202.

433 difficult, and trust restrictions inhibited the mortgaging of such lands.
178 The day of slowly building a ranch or farm from a cow, some seed and
[426] hard work was disappearing. Few Blackfeet were established sufficiently
[427] in the 1930's to build and maintain a remunerative enterprise.

735 From 1936 through 1940 general drought conditions continued in
[731] the region.[144] A few men held onto their farms and ranches, but most
[434] were forced to rely on wages from occasional labor and welfare payments.
One report stated that general poverty was the lot of three-fourths of
the Blackfeet people in 1936.[145]

745 An additional source of unearned income was provided when the
434 Indians were declared eligible for Social Security benefits by an act
● 657 of 1936.[146] This provided categorical aid to the needy blind, aged,
and the dependent children. In 1939, 91 old persons, 186 children, and
3 blind persons on the Blackfeet reservation received this help.[147]

758 From about 1936 on, the impact of modern medicine began to be
178 felt by the Blackfeet. The Agency Physician reported an increased
desire for obstetric service, "an increase from an average of ten a
year to 127 in the fiscal year for 1936."[148] A new hospital was opened

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[144] U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, *Indians at Work*, Vol. IV, No. 7, 1936, p. 37; *ibid*., No. 8, pp. 37-39; *Toole, op. cit*., p. 240 (for Montana from 1929 and the following ten years).

[145] *Indians at Work*, *op*. *cit*., Vol. IV, No. 4, 1936, p. 38.

[146] U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 1936, XLIX, p. 620.

[147] U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, *Statistical Report of Public Assistance to Indians under the Social Security Act as of October 1, 1939*, p. 15.

[148] *Indians at Work*, *op*. *cit*., Vol. IV, No. 4, 1936, p. 39.

[1884-1960]

758 178 in 1937[149] and during the fiscal year 1940 a staff of twelve served 1,181 patients in addition to providing dispensary treatment to 5,204 cases. Five field employees administered to an additional 4,945.[150] C.C.C. nurses and Red Cross workers were also tending to the health of the Blackfeet.[151] The medicine men were losing their hold. By 1959 informants reported that all the Indians used the Public Health Service hospital and medicines. Only a few medicine men were left and while they did some curing, they too went to the white doctors on occasion.

●651 [643] [426] [242] [232] [575] The Tribal Council attempted to further self-help improvement projects using the revolving loan funds appropriated by Congress. The Office of Indian Affairs encouraged other enterprises by providing farm and home extension workers to advise the farmers and ranchers, and to organize women's community clubs for instruction in homemaking. The extension agents encouraged the growth of 4-H clubs to teach agriculture, stock raising and homemaking to the boys and girls.[152]

433 [427] By 1941, the eve of World War II, the Blackfeet had made but slow recovery. The long-range economic problems had not been met. They,

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[149] Reported under construction in Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1936, p. 175; and ibid., 1937, p. 234, reports all hospitals under construction in 1936 were completed in 1937.

[150] U.S., Office of Indian Affairs, Statistical Supplement to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1940, p. 82.

[151] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1937, p. 218.

[152] See reports in Indians at Work, op. cit., Vol. III, No. 12, 1936, p. 43; and in the Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1936, pp. 179-184, and ibid., 1937, pp. 211-217.

434 but again no land of their own upon which to build. Not many had the
727 experience and motivation to overcome these handicaps.

425 While the Indians were readjusting to peace-time reservation
727 life, the general U.S. population was expanding, both in numbers and
in movement of population. The demands for new land revived pressures
for the removal of trust restrictions on Indian land.[160] Once again
there was an increase of fee patent awards and the sale and alienation
of more land.

● 657 The Council and the Agency persevered in endeavors to resolve
643 the reservation economic problems. Stock raising and agricultural
179 programs were initiated, and national programs for relocation and
233 on-the-job training for Indians were pushed. By 1949 the cattle
727 holdings of the Blackfeet had increased to 14,678,[161] but as usual the
figures do not tell the whole story. As in the past, only a few were
able to keep a ranch going over time to remain as one of the 150 families
engaged in stock raising in 1959. Accounts of informants' experiences
during this period show some of the personal and tribal problems of
adaptation during the post-war years.

> 727 I started years ago to build a herd with repayment cattle. At
> 233 that time they accepted repayment as a man was able to make it.
> 426 I took ten years to pay back 50 head. Then they made changes
> 433 and required that repayment be made within two years. One bad
> year made this impossible. 1947 was a bad year. The people
> needed hay to get their cattle through the winter. The
> government wouldn't finance feeding. Then, because the Indian
> wasn't able to feed, they came in and hauled away the cattle.
> I managed to borrow $700 from a friend in town and made it
> through the winter.
>
> --a presently successful rancher, mixed-blood, leasing
> 2,400 acres.

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[160] *Ibid.*, 1951, pp. 368-369. [161] *Ibid.*, 1950, p. 356.

433 to have had family support. Only by cooperation, in which some of the
592 family took wage earning jobs while others tended the ranch, were most
enterprises kept going.

648 The pressure for ending trust status of Indian land culminated
657 in the adoption of a Congressional Resolution in 1953 calling for the
423 "earliest possible" termination of Federal responsibilities over
425 specified Indian tribes.[162] The Blackfeet were not included among the
Indians to be "freed," but the resolution was interpreted as a statement of intent to end rapidly the trust status of all Indians. In response to this resolution, the

> issuance of patents in fee nearly doubled as compared with the previous year . . . while the disposition of allotted holdings through advertised sales more than tripled. . . .[163]

A brief moratorium in 1958 was lifted the following year "in compliance with a congressional request. . . ."[164] The Blackfeet continued to lose reservation land to non-members.

433 While Federal and tribal authorities were attempting to increase
the industrial capacity of the reservation, other forces were working
[161] against them. The population was growing--from the 3,921 resident
[162] members in 1941 to 4,850 in 1960. The increasing number of Blackfeet
[167] who had left the reservation often included the most highly educated.
[425] The land sales and continued fractionization of allotments through
inheritance procedures made land consolidation and utilization
[434] increasingly difficult. The trend toward larger farms and ranches

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[162] U.S., Congressional Record, 83rd. Cong., 1st Session, 1953, XCIX, Part 8, p. 9968.

[163] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1953, p. 24.

[164] Ibid., 1959, p. 253.

433 increased the need for additional capital, but funds were not available
[434] to meet the demand. Periods of declining employment, i.e., the
[464] recession of 1957-59, cut into individual earnings from wage labor. No
[458] proven oil fields had been tapped and interest in oil exploration
[315] decreased. When individual and tribal earnings fell off, the demand on
[657] welfare funds increased. The Council contributed the greatest share to
the county welfare program, so the relief the people received was yet
another drain upon tribal income.

643 Tribal self-government suffered under these pressures. It was
184 difficult to get a majority of the tribe to support any political or
economic measure. The Council, itself split on issues, despaired of
tribal unity:

> 643 Members of the Blackfeet Tribe are generally very poor. Their
> 652 income is meager and consists mostly of income from leased
> 434 trust land, casual labor, and participation in Tribal programs
> 184 operated with Tribal income. It is very difficult to convince these people that Tribal income should be assigned for any purpose. Most of our people see only the spectre of having their income, and consequently Tribal programs and their direct benefits, diverted into programs designed for only more progressive members of the Tribe. To these people, it is a matter of personal survival. Any possible reduction in Tribal income to them automatically means a reduction in personal income.
>
> . . .until at least thirty per cent of the adult population of the Tribe becomes self-supporting and thus able to plan and to think in terms of the future, it appears that programs requiring popular approval for use of locally supervised Tribal funds will certainly be limited to those programs which meet the daily emergency needs of members of the Blackfeet Tribe.[165]

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[121] [165] Letter from the Secretary of the Blackfeet Tribal Business Council to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 3, 1960, unpublished documents of the Blackfeet Tribal Council.

TAPLE 1 (Continued)

Case No.	Average Income (dollars)	Has Bank Acct.	Wel-fare Used	Owns Land	Uses Land	Owns Home	Lives With Relatives	Type of House	Cond. of House	Lawn or Garden	Owns Auto	Cond. of Auto
2	$3,000	X			X		X	house	exc.	X	X	good
3	2,250			X			X	shack	poor		X	poor
5	1,500						X	house	fair		X	fair
6	3,000	X			has	X-		trailer	good		X	good
7	3,000				X		X	house	good		X	good
9	800		X	X			X	house	fair			
10	1,200		X	X		rents	w/him	shack	poor+			
11	1,800						X	shack	poor		X	poor
13	1,000			X		rents		house	good	X	wife	fair
14	300		X			X		shack	poor		X	fair
17	2,000					fam.		shack	poor		X	poor
18	1,500			X			X	shack	poor			
19	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	exc.	X	X	good
21	5,000	X		X	X	X		house	good		X	poor
25	3,000	X		X	X	X		house	fair		X	fair
26	600						X	cabin	fair			
27	75		X			X	w/him	shack	poor			
28	1,800		X				X	house	fair		X	fair
29	500						X	shack	poor		X	poor
30	5,000					rents		apt.	exc.	X		
31	1,600				X	fam.		house	good		X	fair
32	720		X	X		X		shack	poor			
34	2,500					X-		trailer	good		X	?
35	9,000	X		X	X	X		house	good	X	X	good
37	450		X				X	cabin	fair			
38	3,000			X		X		house	good	X	X	good
39							X	cabin	fair			
42	1,200			X		X	w/him	house	good		X	good
[illegible]	4,000				X	X		house	fair+		X	good
[illegible]	3,000			X			w.empl.	house	fair			
[illegible]	[illegible]		X	X		X		shack	poor			

[434] [454] [453] [657] [423] [427] [342] [592] [423] [434] [342] [342] [351] [493] 184 177 121 106

106 transactions is in close agreement with the tribal credit assessment
121 reported in Chapter III.

177 Use of Welfare, included as another economic index, will be
184 discussed at greater length in the analysis.

[453] Land Ownership and Land Use are included as indices of
[454] acculturation. The assumption is that the leasing of owned land to
[657] others, while lacking work oneself, is a least economical use of the
[423] land. There appears to be a tendency for the more acculturated
individuals to make more use of their land. The previously mentioned
[427] complexities of land ownership and use may intervene here, and the
information contained in these two columns will need further examination.

[342] Home Ownership, Lives with Relatives, Type of House, and
[592] Condition of House reflect many complex problems. But the ownership
and maintenance of a home, along with single or joint family occupancy,
[423] can be used as indices of economic adjustment. As was mentioned
earlier, the care and use of the home may be a more important index
than is the house type.

[434] The inclusion of this information may also serve to qualify
[342] the reported income figures. A man who has reported a low income
figure, but who owns a good house, probably has a better record of
past earning than does the man with the low income and poor house.

[342] The ratings used are self-explanatory with the exception of
those under Type of House. A dwelling consisting of one to three rooms
in poor condition is classified as a shack; a similar sized residence
in fair or good condition is called a cabin. A house is a dwelling of
four or more rooms regardless of condition.

128 apply for relief. One man is single, another has dependents. Even
106 though the two men report the same income figure the latter is the
[434] poorer because his subsistence needs are greater. Recognition of
● [651] welfare aid serves to qualify the income figure by recognizing
differential subsistence needs. Welfare recipients are scored "0" and non-recipients "1" point.

Table 4 lists the subjects and their point scores on each of these economic factors. The scores are summed resulting in an index of each man's economic standing.

177 The economic indices are used to show the respective ranges
128 of economic achievement of the members of the orientation categories,
511 and are shown in Figure 2.

The low economic condition of the Indian-oriented portion of the sample is immediately apparent; all cases are grouped in the lower part of the scale. The indeterminantly oriented subjects are correspondingly low, while the white-oriented subjects range across the entire scale.

It would not be wise, at this time, to generalize from the probability sample to the complete reservation population, because there are Indian-oriented men, from whom no data were gathered, who would score high on an economic scale. It would be safe, however, to state that the information in Figure 2 is indicative of a tendency. While the differences are probably greater within each category than they are between them, the Indian-oriented category, as a whole, would average lower on the economic scale than would the white-oriented.

TABLE 4

ECONOMIC SCORES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PROBABILITY SAMPLE AND THEIR ECONOMIC INDICES

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● 657
177
511

Case No.	Type of Work	Income	Uses Land	Home Owner-ship	Type and Condition	Auto and Condition	Part Family Support	Uses Welfare	Total
2	4	2	2		4	3	1	1	17
3	1	2	1			1	2	1	8
5	2	1			2	2	1	1	9
6	1	2		2	2	3	3	1	14
7	4	2	2		3	3	1	1	16
9			1		2		1		4
10		1	1	2	1		1		6
11	1	1		1		1	2	1	7
13			1	2	3	2	2	1	11
14				3		2	1		6
17	2	1		1		1	2	1	8
18		1	1				3	1	6
19	5	5	3	3	4	3	3	1	27
21	5	4	3	3	3	1	3	1	23
25	5	2	3	4	2	2	3	1	22
26					1			1	2
27				3			2		5
28		1			2	2	3		8
29						1	3	1	5
30	5	4		2	4		3	1	19
31	4	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	15
32			1	3			2		6
34	2	2		2	2	2	1	1	12
35	5	5	3	4	3	3	3	1	27
37					1		1		2
38	3	2	1	3	3	3	3	1	19
39					1			1	2
42	2	1	1	3	2	3	3	1	16
45	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	1	21
46	2	2	1	1	2		3	1	12
47			1	3			3		7

So strong was the attraction of buffalo hunting for the B
Indian tribes which occupied this region that they continued to G
subsist primarily upon this animal until the buffalo were exterminated. 224
In spite of their Agents' warnings of the disappearance of this resource 136 [657] ●
in the near future and of Agents' efforts to encourage them to settle
down and to till the soil, these Indians, by their own preference,
continued to hunt buffalo until they were gone, or as a South Piegan
more picturesquely expressed it, until "the tail of the last buffalo
disappeared from the prairie."

This extermination came more rapidly than either the Indians B
or their Agents had anticipated. Consequently it brought suffering, G
starvation and death to hundreds of Blackfeet and Gros Ventre Indians. 136
Then, with the buffalo gone and unprepared to make a living by any 731
other means than hunting, these Indian people had no alternative but to 657 361
settle down near their Agencies where they could obtain weekly supplies
of government rations. Not until they began to receive cattle under the
terms of the Agreements negotiated in the field in 1887, did they begin
to spread out over their reservations.

The Factor of Tribal Organization: During the nomadic period, B
prior to the extermination of the buffalo, the basic residential as G
well as political group among both the Gros Ventre and the Blackfeet 631
tribes was the hunting band, not the tribe. Each tribe was divided 621
into a number of these hunting bands which usually wintered separately 619
and which gathered in one great circle camp only during summer for the
great tribal hunt and the tribal sun dance.

000 as they probably had never known before and certainly have not experienced since.

B G 439 131 The fact that the fur trade first reached these Indians by way of the Saskatchewan River and that their trading posts prior to 1832, were all in the British Possessions, and primarily on the North Saskatchewan tended to hold the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre in the north during the years prior to that date. Whereas, the establishment of posts on the Missouri in 1832 and thereafter encouraged them to move southward where they could find a ready market for buffalo robes as well as peltries.

B G 721 The invasion of the Blackfeet and Gros Ventre country by settlers didn't occur until the Montana gold rush of 1862. Then, until 1870, the international line served as a convenient escape hatch for Blackfeet war parties who attacked white settlers and freighters in the United States and fled north across the line.

B G 648 131 It is significant, also, that prior to 1883 white pressure for the cession of the Indians' land in Northern Montana east of the Rockies involved primarily Blackfeet lands between the Musselshell and Birch Creek, lands not occupied by the Gros Ventre.

B G 131 657 Finally the location of the Indian Agencies established by the Government for the Blackfeet and the Gros Ventre came to have an increasingly important influence upon the locations of the Indians as they became more dependent upon the issuance of weekly rations when the buffalo became scarce, then disappeared altogether.

[p. 50]

175 In 1868 Agent Wright reported, "The Blood and Blackfeet
131 tribes roam mostly along the Saskatchewan river, and would try to
[721] be honest if left alone, but are encouraged by the trading post
at Fort Edmonton to steal horses in this Territory and run them
over on British soil for trading purposes." (Annual Report Comm.
Ind. Aff., 1868, p. 205). Although Wright's statement regarding
the location of these tribes was undoubtedly correct, his accusation
against the Hudson's Bay Company traders was not proven.

●657 During the next year (1869) the Blackfeet Indian Agency
177 was moved from Fort Benton, where it had never been a popular location
with the Indians because of the hostility of many of the townspeople
toward the Indians, to a new site on the Teton River about
75 miles northwest of Fort Benton and some 5 miles north of present
721 Choteau, Montana. The following winter the so-called "Blackfeet War",
never more than a guerilla operation, was abruptly ended with the
massacre of a camp of friendly Piegan on the Marias River by U. S.
Cavalry commanded by Col. E. M. Baker (Jan. 23, 1870).

175 The following summer Gen. Alfred Sully described the lands
131 occupied by the Blackfeet tribes thus:

"...while the Blackfeet nation claims in common, as their lands, the country both north and south of the British line, yet it is only the Piegans who generally inhabit the country south of the line. The Bloods occupy the country about the line, and the Blackfeet

[p. 138]

proper, all the country north as far as the Saskatchewan." (Sully 175
to Comm. Ind. Affairs, July 10, 1870, Indian Office Records, The 131
National Archives).

During the early seventies the South Piegan found the new 651
Agency on the Teton much to their liking, and, though efforts to get 175
them to settle down and raise crops in that locality were largely [177]
futile, many bands of that group wintered on the Teton not far from [221]
the Agency, while they hunted buffalo in warmer weather farther
north. The Blackfeet and the majority of Blood Indians, living [131]
primarily in Canada, rarely if ever visited the Agency. The Agents'
reports of the period 1871-74 are evidence of these facts.

In 1871 Agent Armitage reported: "The Blackfoot and Bloods 651
are much together, traveling and hunting through about the same range 175
of country, and during the summer months frequently go as far north 221
as the Hudson Bay trading-post on the Elk (Red Deer) River, in the [619]
British possessions, a distance of between two hundred and two hundred
and fifty miles from this point. The Piegans, more attached to their
home, as they are learning to term the agency, do not extend their
hunting excursions so far, but remain nearer, so that bands of them
are coming and going to and from the agency and their main encampment
constantly." (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Aff. 1871, pp. 427-428).

In 1873 Agent Ensign reported: ... "Piegans are the only 651
Indians who, as a tribe, come to the agency for supplies. One band 175

651 of the Bloods, under the chief Running Rabbit, also come regularly
175 for their rations, but every effort on my part to induce the
Blackfeet and the main camp of Bloods to visit the agency has thus
[131] far proved abortive. These tribes range north of the British line,
[439] from two hundred and fifty to four hundred miles from the agency,
and are kept from coming in by illicit traders, who stop at nothing
to accomplish the purpose, thus securing the very profitable trade
of the Indians." (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Aff., 1873, p. 252).

175 On January 22, 1874, Agent May reported that the majority
131 of the Piegan were in winter camp on the Teton River about 25 miles
from the Agency. There were Blood Indians about 40 miles to the northwest
on the forks of the Teton. While the Blackfeet tribe was wintering 50
to 100 miles north of the Agency. (R. F. May to Commissioner of Indian
Affairs, Jan. 22, 1874. Indian Office Records, The National Archives).

175 Less than two months later May wrote:

131 "The Blackfeet Indians rarely if ever visit this reservation...
651 They are nearly if not all, across the line, in the British Possessions.
I have not seen more than 20 to 25 Blood Indians - they are, I understand, on and about Belly River which I believe is in the British
Possessions.

About 60 to 65 miles north of this reservation, Cut Hand, a Piegan chief, is camped and he has with him some 10 to 12 lodges of Blood Indians, which I think comprises nearly a majority of the Bloods upon this Reservation.

[p.140]

The Piegans are encamped at various points upon this 131
Reservation, and have had great success during the winter in 657
killing buffalo." (May to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, March 6, 175
1874. Indian Office Records, The National Archives).

In early fall May wrote:

"For several years the ...Blackfeet and Bloods... have ranged across the line, none of the Blackfeet coming here, occasionally a few of the Bloods."

"The Piegans are in frequent intercourse with the Agency". (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1874, p. 259).

It is not surprising that none of the Blackfeet tribes were 131
upset when the Executive Order of July 5, 1873, restricted their land 175
to the area north of the Missouri and its western tributary Sun River. 648
The Piegan, southernmost of the Blackfeet tribes, had not lived south of Sun River for at least 8 years. And for some time prior to that the only Piegan hunting band occupying the area south of the Missouri was the Small Robes. The loss of Royce Area 399, was no handicap to the Blackfeet tribes in making a living in the year 1873.

But when the Piegan heard that the Government was contemplating the further restriction of their area, the movement of their southern boundary north to the Marias and its southern tributary of Birch Creek, that was a different matter. Cession of land north of the Teton meant giving up land on which they were currently dwelling and from which they were making a living.

Agency will be moved back on the Reservation and the Teton Valley 131
thrown open to settlement. The remonstrances of the present Agent 175
against this bill were received at the Department before its passage, 648
but it was passed and signed notwithstanding, and that too with the approval of the Department." (Helena Weekly Independent, May 22, 1874).

May then wrote Maginnis, "I am sure I do not overstate the case when I say the Indians residing upon this reservation are unanimous in their opposition to the change of line - that is the removal beyond the Teton - south of the Teton they do not care for...I could have sent to you for presentation to Congress a 'remonstrance' bearing more than two thousand Indian signatures, but I contented myself by sending to the Hon. Commissioner the substance of the words spoken by the Chief Little Plume, and I know, and knew then that he spoke the sentiments of his Tribe." (May to Martin Maginnis, May 25, 1874. Martin Maginnis Papers, The Montana Historical Society).

The Executive Order was issued April 15, 1874, moving the 131
southern boundary of the reservation northward from the Missouri 175
River- Sun River boundary to the Marias River-Birch Creek line, thus 648
freeing for white settlement Royce Area 574. 657

In his Annual Report Agent May again showed his indignation at this treatment of his Indians. "To take from peaceable, friendly Indians a very large portion of their best hunting and pasture land without consultation or remuneration, is a violation of the wise and

131 Christian policy of the Government." (Annual Report Comm. Indian
175 Affairs, 1874, p. 260). Agent May took no steps to comply with
648 the Executive Order and he was removed from his office.
657

His successor, John S. Wood entered on duty January 24, 1875. On February 15, he wrote the Commissioner: "The Indians would be satisfied if the South Bank of the Teton was made the line of the reservation." (Wood to Comm. Ind. Affairs, Feb. 15, 1875. Indian Office Records, The National Archives).

131 In The National Archives, Indian Office Records, there is
175 a report from Andrew Dusold, Detective for the Blackfeet Agency to
311 Agent Wood dated February 12, 1875, explaining the importance of
221 the area between the Teton and Birch Creek to the Indians. The
Indians had used and in fact were at that time using the valley of
the Teton for winter camps. He stated, "Piegans and Blackfeet are
camped on this stream in different camps for a distance of 55 miles
[372] from the Agency." The Teton offered the Indians an abundance of
firewood, whereas none of the smaller streams between the Teton
and Birch Creek afforded sufficient firewood for their winter camps.
He pointed out that very few Indians encamped on the forks of the
Marias in winter, but camped on the Teton and the main Marias where
the buffalo ranged; that most of the timber along the Marias was on
the south side of the river, which would be outside the boundaries

of the new reservation; that there was no problem in summer "as the 131
Indians will move to the Mountains and will camp along the described 175
Forks of the Marias, hunting for small game, or will make their camp 311
in the vicinity of the "Three Buttes" or "Sweet Grass Hills". He 221
explained that "The Indians will and must follow the range of the Buffalo in winter:- In the beginning of Winter when the Buffalo appear from the North, their Range is away from the Mountains, crossing the Marias below its forks, ranging South-East, crossing the Teton about 30 miles below the Agency, and then crossing the Missouri River about 20 miles below Fort Shaw." Dusold also stated "The Piegans, Bloods and Blackfeet range to the line of Longitude 111 degrees". This would place the eastern limit of the Blackfeet tribes' range in the United States at that time in the neighborhood of the East Butte of the Sweet Grass Hills, and a little west of the big bend of the Marias.

It was on the basis of these practical considerations - 175
the known winter range of the buffalo and the Indians' requirements 648
for winter firewood - that Dusold recommended revision of the south 657
boundary of the Reservation so as to include the Teton River within 131
it. (Andrew Dusold, to John Wood February 12, 1875, Indian Office Records, The National Archives).

In the light of Dusold's explanation the Indian opposition to movement of the boundary north to Birch Creek makes much sense.

[p. 145]

175 It was not based upon mere whim or obstinancy on their part. It was
648 based upon their current needs for making a living in their country.

657
131 Meanwhile white settlers were applying pressure to make the
Indians move north of the newly established boundary. The Agency on
[177] the Teton was becoming untenable. On February 2, 1875, Agent Wood
reported that "partys here have preempted and filed claims covering
the farm and stockade of this Agency and it makes matters here very
[823] unpleasant for an Agent." He found that the Indians "have a great
love for this portion of the Country as their forefathers lived here
and are buried here." He found that Agent May had led the Indians to
believe that he would get the land back for them, which complicated
his task. Yet he reported, "I have the consent of the greater portion
of them to go to the new reservation and am told that there is plenty
of wood, water and grass and the most of the buffalo is in that section
of the country." (Wood to Comm. Ind. Affairs, Feb. 2, 1875. Indian
Office Records. The National Archives.)

On May 14, Wood reported that within the past six weeks Indians visiting the Agency had between 75 and 100 horses stolen from them by whites, so that the Indians didn't want to return to the Agency on the Teton. (Wood to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1875. Indian Office Records, The National Archives). In the same letter Wood explained that he had selected a site for a new Agency on Badger Creek about 10 miles from the mountains.

[p. 146]

The new Agency was constructed on the site now known as 175
Running Crane's property, and early in November 1876, 19 months 648
after the Executive Order of April 15, 1874, the headquarters of 657
the Blackfeet Agency was moved north within the boundaries of the 131
reservation established by that order.

Further proof of the withdrawal of the Blood and North 657
Blackfeet into Canada is available in the action of the Indians on 175
the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana, under the guidance and at the 671
instigation of Agent Wood, of organizing and adopting a code of laws 622
for their conduct in April 1875. A council was called of the headmen 623
(chiefs) of bands to elect a head chief and two subordinate chiefs and to draft a code of laws to be administered by those chiefs in cooperation with the Agent. Of the fifteen chiefs of bands who took part in this council, I recognize the name of only one, "One-who-pulls-the-sun-down (or "Brings Down the Sun") a North Piegan Chief, who was not of the South Piegan division. Certainly the head chief they elected, Little Plume, and the two subordinate chiefs, Generous Woman and White Calf, were all chiefs of well known South Piegan bands. My field data indicate that Little Plume was chief of the Worm Band; Generous Woman chief of the Fat Roasters (or Grease Melters); and White Calf chief of the Skunks band. (The original of this document including the code of laws adopted April 23, 1875, is in the Indian Office Records, The National Archives).

[p.147]

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648 Two years later the withdrawal of the North Blackfeet, Blood and North Piegan Indians from the United States culminated in their negotiation of a treaty with the Dominion of Canada. At Blackfoot Crossing on Bow River, September 22, 1877, these Indians along with the Sarcees and the Stonies (the northwestern division of the Assiniboin) signed Treaty No. 7 under which they agreed to behave and conduct themselves as good and loyal subjects of Her Majesty the [131] Queen (Victoria). Under the conditions of this treaty they surrendered to the crown all their lands, comprising some 50,000 square miles lying westward of the Cypress Hills, northward of the [657] international boundary and east of the Rocky Mountains. In return the Canadian Government agreed to permit the Indians to continue to hunt throughout this vast tract and assigned reserves to each tribe within the area of sufficient size to permit the Indians to allow 1 square mile for each family of five. (Morris, contains the complete text and proceedings of this treaty).

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[648]
[578] The Blackfeet, Bloods and Sarcees first took a reservation in common on both sides of Bow River above and below Blackfoot Crossing. But they did not get on well together and in the next year the Bloods were transferred to a new location on the Belly River and the Sarcees to the Elbow above Calgary. The Blackfeet remained near Blackfoot Crossing. The North Piegan located on a reservation in the Porcupine Hills on Oldman River above Fort Macleod. All of these reservations are in the Canadian Province of Alberta.

[P.148]

reservations are in the Canadian Province of Alberta. 000

Since that time these organized tribes have been recognized 648
subjects of the British Empire. They have had no official relations
with the United States Government.

VI. Period of the Extermination of the Buffalo and the South Piegan Land Agreements (1878-1900).

In 1878, the year after Treaty No. 7, Agent Young reported 175
from the Blackfeet Agency in Montana that the Indians were "now 648
calling themselves by the general name Piegan". (Annual Report Comm.
Ind. Affairs, 1878, p. 82). It would have been strange indeed if
they didn't, for those hunting bands organized under the code of laws
and then properly wards of the United States were Piegan Indians.
They were more properly South Piegan, since the North Piegan, along
with the Blood and North Blackfeet had chosen to become subjects
of the Candian Government rather than wards of the United States.

At that time the South Piegan were under the leadership 657
of White Calf, chief of the Skunks band, who had been elebted head 101
chief of the tribe in October 1877, following the death of Little 622
Plume. The South Piegan were divided into eleven hunting bands as 175
indicated by Agent Young's description of the distribution of annuities
in the spring of 1879. "In the afternoon distributed the annuities
to Big Nose Band, and Three Suns occupied in giving the annuities

657 to the other ten bands viz., White Calf, Running Crane, Fast Buffalo
101 Horse, Horse Head, No Runner, Red Paint, Tearing Lodge, Four Bears,
622 The Horn, The General, Big Lake and Lodge Pole Chief." (Agent
175 Young's Letter Book, May 8, 1879, Blackfeet Agency Archives, Museum
of the Plains Indian, Browning, Montana). Big Nose (also known as
Three Suns) probably was second chief of the South Piegan at the time.
Some of the bands must then have had more than one chief, since the
number of names exceeds eleven.

175 Ever since the 1855 treaty Blackfeet Agents had been trying
657 to interest their Indian charges in planting crops and tilling the
224 soil, but without rousing any great interest among the Indian buffalo
[241] hunters. In 1878 Young reported that "there are still a large number
who will only pursue the chase for a living, and until the game becomes too scarce to afford it, are not likely to give up their
roving mode of life." (Annual Report Comm. Indian Affairs, 1878, p.84).

224 In the winter of 1878-1879 Agent Young reported that one
175 large camp of his Indians, under White Calf made a successful hunt
near the Bearpaw Mountains. (Agent Young's Letter Book, Feb. 1, 1879. Blackfeet Agency Archives). That summer the main camp was also hunting near the Bearpaw Mountains. (Ibid., Aug. 1, 1879).

136 But by the winter of 1879-1880 the buffalo had been nearly
224 exterminated in the Blackfeet country in Canada. To minimize the
648 starvation among his wards the Canadian Indian Commissioner Edgar B.
Dewdney gave his Indians some provisions and advised them to cross

the line to hunt buffalo in Montana. He later claimed that this 136
action had saved the Canadian Government "at least $100,000." 224
(Sharp, 1955, p. 155, quotes the Dewdney correspondence on this 648
subject).

From then on the South Piegan were forced to hunt buffalo 224
where they could find them, on or off the reservation. They were 648
in competition for the dwindling game supply not only with other 175
Indians in Montana, but with the Blackfeet, Cree and Assiniboin
who came down from Canada after the buffalo had disappeared in their
own country. In the winter of 1879-1880 they went far south to the
Judith Basin. White men, disturbed by this great influx of red men [177]
onto their lands, protested that the Indians were killing cattle and
had the South Piegan escorted back north to their reservation by the
army. Agent Young later learned that cattle had been killed by young
men of Running Rabbit's North Piegan that winter on land south of
the reservation. (Agent Young Letter Book, Jan. 6, 1882. Blackfeet
Agency Archives).

From then on the number of Indians encamped near the Agency 657
on Badger Creek (then moved a few miles down stream from the Running 175
Crane site to the location still known as "Old Agency"), in winter 221
increased as the number of buffalo decreased. The South Piegan 136
remained buffalo hunters to the end. And the bitter end came in [731]
1883 and 1884 when upward of 400 of them starved to death after the [165]
buffalo were gone.

[p.151]

657 648 131 175 In the fall of 1883, shortly after the buffalo were gone a Subcommittee of the Special Committee of the United States Senate, appointed to visit the Indian tribes of Montana, composed of Senator Vest of Missouri and Delegate Maginnis of Montana, met with the chiefs of the South Piegan at the Blackfeet Agency. They found the starving Indians quite willing to offer some of their gameless land in exchange for those things which would help them to make a living now that the buffalo were gone. In council on September 15, 1883, Chief Little Dog described theland that might be retained for their reservation and the land that might be given up. "I want a reservation with the Birch Creek on the south, as now. We like the land near the mountains. On the east you can draw a line from the western end of the Sweet Grass Hills to the Marias River. That would touch the river near Willow Sound. The country between that and the mountains we would like to have. From that line down to the Bear Paw we have no use for the country. There is no game there. We don't want to go there. We would rather stay here where there are streams and good land, and where our homes lie. The reason I put the line so far east is that I want the people to have a good living; plenty of range for horses and stock. We want the Government to help us." (Report of the Subcommittee... to visit the Indian Tribes of Montana, pp. 242-243).

Head Chief White Calf, Little White Cow, Big Nose and Running Crane all spoke in support of Little Dog's proposal as to the lands to

[p. 152]

be ceded. (Ibid., pp. 243-244). This description throws considerable 657
light upon tribal land claims upon the great northern reservation 648
(Royce Area 565). The South Piegan regarded the land as far eastward 131
as the Bearpaw Mountains as theirs, and of this they were willing to 175
cede that part which was of least value to them now that the buffalo were gone - ie. that part from the western end of the Sweet Grass Hills (ie. West Butte) eastward. The landmark "Willow Sound" in the text must be a misprint for "Willow Round" which was a former camping place of the Piegan on the Marias less than five miles east of its forks. (See the map in Ewers, 1955, Plate 7).

The Subcommittee recommended "the appointment of a commission to treat with the tribes for part of their lands". (Report of Subcommittee etc., p. 234). But apparently Mr. Maginnis decided not to wait for the action of such a commission. On February 25, 1884, he introduced into the House of Representatives a bill "To provide permanent reservations for the Indians in Northern Montana, and for other purposes", which provided for a reservation for the "Piegan, Blood and Blackfeet Indians belonging to the Blackfeet Agency" in the western portion of the existing large reservation, west of "a line drawn due south from the national boundary, at the western extremity of the Sweet Grass Hills to the Maria's River". (H.R. 5427, 48th Congress, 1st Session). A similar bill (S. 1710) was introduced in the Senate by Senator Vest on March 4, 1884. However, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, expressed his disapproval of the Bill,

657 although he seemed to have no specific objection to that portion of
648 it dealing with the Blackfeet Reservation and its establishment.
131 (Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to The Secretary of the Interior,
175 April 3, 1884. The National Archives, Record Group 233).

657 By Act of May 15, 1886, The Northwest Commission was
648 appointed to negotiate with the Indians in the great reservation north
175 of the Missouri (Royce Area 565). On February 8, 1887, the members of
this Commission (John V. Wright, J. W. Daniels, and C. F. Larrabee) arrived at the Blackfeet Agency after taking 16 days to make the last 100 miles of their journey northward from Sun River under abominable weather conditions, with as much as 2 feet of snow and temperatures as low as 50 degrees below zero. No minutes of their council with the Blackfeet (South Piegan) were taken, but the Commissioners' Report of Negotiations, dated Blackfeet Agency February 11, 1887, is in The National Archives. (Indian Office Records, Special Case 144). This report is sufficient to show that the Indians originally demanded $3,000,000 for the relinquishment of their interest in the surplus lands of the reservation and stubbornly refused to accept the Commissioners' offer of $125,000 per annum. "Finally, however, after long and patient reasoning with them they agreed to accept $150,000 per annum for the period mentioned".

The Commissioners reported that the Indians' demands for a proportionately greater sum for their land cessions than was agreed

upon by the Indians of Fort Peck and Fort Belknap Agencies were 657
based upon two arguments. Both of them appear to me to have been 648
spurious. 175

The First argument was based on population - that there "are more than 2,000 Indians at present attached to the Agency, and there are from 500 to 1,000 on the other side of the international line, who properly belong to the agency, and are likely to return sooner or later." This argument took advantage of the ignorance of the Commissioners. My elderly Indian informants on the Blackfeet [115] Reservation in the early 1940s recalled that it was a favorite Indian device among the Blackfeet tribes on both sides of the line at that period to play both ends against the middle and receive annuities from both countries, and that they were able to get away with it in view of the poor records of individual Indians then kept at the Agencies. If we will refer to the Appendix on Indian Popula- [162] tions accompanying this report[A] we will see that the populations of [161] the Blackfeet Reservation in 1887 was officially listed as 1,927 and that it did not exceed 2,293 in any year from that time until 1900. There is no sharp rise of from 500 to 1,000 souls such as this argument promised.

The second argument was based upon longer occupancy 657
- that "these Indians, no doubt have the most ancient claim upon 648
the ceded territory - as far eastward as the mouth of Milk River. 175
131

[p. 155]

A. [Missing from this copy--Analyst]

175 They occupied it as far back as their history is known, and they
657 naturally feel that they have a stronger claim to it than any of
648 the other Indians." As brought out in the earlier sections of this
131 report, the Piegan were not aboriginal occupants of this area (Royce
Area 565). Like the Gros Ventre they entered it after the smallpox
epidemic of 1781. They did not occupy the region north of the
Missouri as far as the mouth of Milk River. That was Gros Ventre
territroy.

175 The reduction of the lands of the South Piegan and their
657 establishment on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana was approved
648 and became law by Act of Congress May 1, 1888. The reservation is
Royce Area 695.

175 None of the land ceded by the South Piegan under this Agree-
657 ment was occupied by them at the time. At the time of the cession the
361 Blackfeet owned some 30 head of cattle. They were living within a
[231] limited area on the southwestern part of their reservation within a
radious of less than 15 miles of their Agency, where they received
[433] weekly rations from the Government. The Agents' Annual Report in
the summer of 1888 stated that they then cultivated 340 acres of
land, and estimated that 83% of their subsistence was obtained from
Government rations, 12% from labor in civilized pursuits and 5% from
hunting, fishing, root gathering etc. (Annual Report Comm. Indian
Affairs, 1888, p. 419, 436).

[p. 156]

361
657
101
[124]
[115]

In the summer of 1951 Dr. Claude Schaeffer, Curator of the Museum of the Plains Indian and I went over the Badger Creek area both east and west of Old Agency with Adam White Man, an elderly Piegan and Louis Bear Child, a Piegan Interpreter, and they pointed out and explained to us just where the Piegan bands lived in the period after the buffalo disappeared (1884-1887). Proceeding down stream from west to east these people resided in the following localities:

The Black Door Band was settled on Badger Creek from the crossing of the present road from Browning to Heart Butte community and Swims Under School eastward. They were the westernmost band on Badger Creek.

Below them around the site of the first Badger Creek Agency and downstream to the end of Albert Mad Plume's property was the Lone Eater's Band.

On the north side of Badger Creek opposite the present Mad Plume School was a mixed group, families from different bands, under the leadership of Big Plume.

Below this group were the Grease Melters, under Big Nose (Three Suns). In 1881 this band had moved north to Two Medicine River and built some cabins. But a series of horse raids by Cree Indians forced them to abandon their little settlement and return to Badger

361 Creek in 1883.

657 Below them lived the greater part of the Black Patched
101 Moccasins Band under Little Dog.

[563] Below them in the area of the crossing of the present highway from Great Falls to Browning lived the Piegan's "white brother-in-laws", the squaw men with their Indian wives and mixed-blood children.

Below them was the Old Agency and near it about 100 cabins built to house the old people when Old Agency was first built (1879).

[621] The Small Robes lived near Old Agency but the band was in process of breaking up as a residential unit, and its members were going to live with other bands.

[443] About a mile east of Old Agency on the flat south of Badger Creek was the trading post operated by Joe Kipp.

Just east of the trading post the Buffalo Dung Band was settled.

Below them were some of the older people of the Black Patched
[178] Moccasins Band. On the flat south of this group was the site of the
[237] first medicine lodge in which cattle tongues were employed as sacred
[778] food the summer after the buffalo disappeared.

Below this locality lived another group of the Buffalo Dung Band under Shorty White Grass.

Below them lived the easternmost band on Badger Creek, a small group, constituting all that was left of the Bugs Band after

[p.158]

the starvation winter. 361

In addition to these groups on Badger Creek, Adam White 657
Man stated that the following bands, the remainder of the tribe, 101
lived on the next stream southward, Birch Creek:

The Blood Band, under Chief Fast Buffalo Horse.

The All Chiefs, under Chief Horn.

The Skunks, under Head Chief White Calf.

This accounts for the location of the 11 bands of the South Piegan in that period. Adam White Man stated that it was not until after the land Agreement negotiated in 1887 that the Indians began to move north and establish permanent homes north of Badger Creek.

This information appears to be confirmed by Agent Baldwin's 361
Annual Report of August 22, 1888, in which he states: 657

"Heretofore their farm work was confined to Birch and 241
Badger Creek bottoms. This season about 150 acres on Two Medicine 311
Creek were plowed and sown with potatoes, oats and barley. On Cut 175
Bank Creek about 70 acres were broken and planted with like seed, and on both sides of the White Tail Creeks a number of patches of ground have been plowed and planted, all of which promises a fair return for their labor." (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Aff. 1888, p. 151).

Undoubtedly this northern movement over the reservation 657
reflected the hope of the Indians for better times ahead with the 361
assistance they were about to receive from the Government under the [648]

657 terms of the Agreement. They had traded land for an opportunity
361 to make a living. In 1890 some 1,000 heifers and 25 bulls were
[648] issued to these Indians and additional issues of cattle were made
[231] in subsequent years. In 1893 Agent George Steel stated: "The
Indians are now well scattered out over the reservation on ranches
[425] which they have selected, instead of being bunched up in bands as
formerly." (Annual Report Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1893,
p. 172). By scattered, he of course meant scattered along the river
valleys, where, like their ancestors of buffalo days, the Indians'
homes were sheltered from the elements in winter, and ready access
to firewood and drinking water.

433 The South Piegan were prospering under the new Agreement.
657 By 1896 there were more than 500 different cattle brands on the
368 reservation stock book. (Annual Report of the Commissioner of
[231] Indian Affairs, 1896, p. 176). The building of the Great Northern
[175] Railway across the reservation in the early '90s, the opening of
the new boarding school on Willow Creek in 1892 and the movement of
the Blackfeet Agency to present Browning, north of the railroad in
March 1895, further encouraged the development of the northern portion
[361] of the reservation. This movement of settlement was from north to
south on the plains, not westward into the mountainous area of the
reservation.

000 In his annual Report for the year 1893 Agent George Steell,

In his annual Report for the year 1893 Agent George Steell, who had known the South Piegan for some 40 years, wrote: 657 311 175 177

"The western border of this reservation is the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Eastward from the summit for an average distance of 20 miles the country is very mountainous and broken, and totally unfit for grazing or agriculture. It is of no use to the Indians, as they do not even hunt the game it contains. This section is said to contain considerable mineral, and I am constantly having trouble with the whites, who are persistently prospecting it. A police force many times larger than I have would hardly be able to patrol it, and the Indians are continually worrying, saying the whites are stealing their gold, and that when the Government gets ready to buy it the mineral will have been carried off and they will get little or nothing. I suggest that a strip of the western border of the reservation, at least 20 miles in width, be sold and the proceeds be placed to the credit of the Indians as an additional fund for their support and maintenance." (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Aff., 1893, p. 172-173).

In September 1895, another Commission met with the South Piegan on the Blackfeet Reservation to negotiate for the cession of this troublesome western area of the reservation. (The Proceedings of the Commissioners are Doc. No. 51,494, 1895, in the Indian Office Records, The National Archives). The Commissioners visited the western portion of the reservation with the aim of determining 657 648 175

657 where a line could be drawn which would separate the mineral
648 bearing land from the grazing lands and as much of the timber
175 lands as possible.

In the council with the Indians which followed they again asked $3,000,000 for the area to be ceded. This was more than the Commissioners believed they were authorized to agree to. At the conclusion of the session on Sept. 23, there appeared no possibility of an agreement being reached. But when the council convened again on Sept. 25, after the Indian leaders had conferred with Agent Steell, Joe Kipp the old trader, and Joe Cook the butcher, Head Chief White Calf offered to cede the mountainous strip from Birch Creek to the international boundary, with all grazing land excluded and retaining the Indians' right to hunt, fish and obtain timber in the mountain area for one and one-half million dollars. The Agreement was concluded on this basis on Sept. 26, 1895, and signed by the Commissioners and 306 of the total adult male population of the Blackfeet Reservation of 381.

This agreement extended for another 10 years the assistance which the Government had inaugurated with the conclusion of the previous land agreement in the '80s.

657
177 It is impossible to assess the value of this assistance in terms of money alone. It provided the South Piegan, weakened by short rations after the buffalo suddenly disappeared, with no knowledge or experience in making a living in a world in which there were no

[p. 162]

buffalo, and with no resources other than an abundance of land, 651
an opportunity to exchange their surplus land for the means of making 177
a living, to obtain an education for their children, and to gain experience in the white man's civilization of which they must henceforth be a part.

One has but to compare the figures from the Annual Reports 657
of the Blackfeet Agents for the years 1886 (before the assistance 177
offered under the first Land Agreement became available) with those 511
for the year 1900 (with seven more years of aid ahead under the 175
provisions of the second Land Agreement) to realize how much this assistance meant to the South Piegan in the short period of 14 years.

	1886	1900	
Number of Indians who can read	18	900	
Number who wear citizens dress	40	2,085 (all)	
Horses and mules owned by Indians	1,205	22,004	[231]
Cattle owned by Indians	None	12,000	
Acres cultivated by Indians	12	500	[241]
Oats, barley, rye harvested	30 bu.	700 bu.	
Vegetables harvested	100 bu.	3,700 bu.	
Hay cut	170 tons	6,000 tons	

As a serious student of Blackfeet cultural history for more 121
than 15 years it is my opinion that in no other period of comparable duration have the South Piegan made such progress. It is my further belief that this progress would not have been possible without the annual expenditures for their benefit under the terms of the land agreements.

[p. 163]

B At the same time it should be pointed out that the South
657 Piegan ceded none of their occupied lands under these agreements,
648 and that they retained a far higher ratio of land to population than
was granted to their relatives in Canada, the North Piegan, Blood
and North Blackfeet.

B If the South Piegan's land seems small today in comparison
657 to their population it is due to two factors (1) the relinquishment
161 of ownership to land by individual Indians since the period these
[425] agreements expired and (2) the phenomenal growth of the South Piegan
B
[162] population since that time. As recently as 1910 their population was
2,268, and the Bureau of the Census commented, "Since 1885 there has
been little change in numbers". (Indian Population in the United
B States and Alaska, 1910. Washington, 1915, p. 75). No one at that
[162] time or prior to it would have predicted that their numbers would
have nearly tripled in the next thirty years (ie. 5,914 in 1950).

VII. The Gros Ventre and their Allies in the Milk River Country.
(1862-1890).

G Basic to an understanding of the problems of Gros Ventre
648 land occupancy in this period is some understanding of their inter-
101 tribal relations during this period. Although some Government
[121] officials continued to regard them as a part of the so-called "Blackfoot
B Nation" for years after the 1855 treaty they definitely were not. In
[648] 1862 they not only were not allies of the Blackfeet tribes - they were

hunted farther west between the Bearpaw Mountains and the Little Rockies, and with them were their friends the Northern Arapaho and Cheyenne. Frequently the Gros Ventre joined the River Crow to hunt in the Judith Basin and south of the Missouri. (Annual Report Comm. Ind. Affairs, 1871, pp. 430-431). G 727 648 131 175

In 1872 the Cowan Commission was sent west to investigate conditions. Upon their recommendation the Milk River Agency was abandoned and two new Agencies established - Fort Belknap farther west on Milk River (near present Chinook) and the first Fort Peck Agency, on the Missouri, just above the mouth of Milk River. In the same year that these Agencies were built the large northern reservation was established comprising all of Montana north of the Missouri and its western tributary, the Sun River, by the Executive Order of July 5, 1873. This area was designated as a "reservation for the Gros Ventre, Piegan, Blood, Blackfeet, River Crow, and other Indians of the Territory of Montana." (Kappler, 1904, pp. 855-856). (Royce Area 565). B G 657 131 175 648

The land ceded by the Indians as a result of this Order did not include any of the area then occupied by the Gros Ventre north of the Missouri River, nor did the land ceded by the Executive Order of April 15, 1874, (Royce Area 574). G 648 175 657

In 1874 the Gros Ventre numbered 960, and the Upper [161]

The major objective of the treaty was the establishment B
of intertribal peace among the tribes hunting on the northwestern 648
plains. The articles dealing with intertribal peace, agreed to by 175
the chiefs, were nullified soon thereafter by their young warriors [721]
the Blood Indians starting against the Crow within 10 days of the
treaty signing.

10. During the period 1862-1877 the North Blackfeet, B
Blood and North Piegan tended to spend more and more of their time 131
north of the international boundary. This culminated in Treaty 648
No. 7 with the Canadian Government at Blackfoot Crossing in 1877, 175
at which all of these groups ceded their lands north of the 49th [657] ●
parallel to the crown, swore their allegiance to the Queen, and
accepted reservation lands in present Alberta. The South Piegan
did not participate in this treaty.

11. The Executive Order of 1873, as a result of which the G
land between the Musselshell and the Missouri and its western tribu- [648]
tary, Sun River, was ceded, was one in which the Gros Ventre had no [131]
interest based upon occupancy. It had been land formerly occupied [175]
by the Piegan, from which they had withdrawn northward some eight
years earlier.

12. At the time of the Act of April 15, 1874, which G
moved the southern boundary of the reservation northward to Birch [648]
Creek, none of the four tribes occupied the portion of the ceded [131]
area south of the Teton River. (See Royce Area 574.) But the South [175]
Piegan did occupy the portion of this area between the Teton River
and Birch Creek. These Indians are on record as having opposed the

B cession of this occupied portion, and their opposition was known
131 to officials in Washington before the order was issued. They are
648 also on record as having stated that they did not oppose the cession
175 of that portion of Royce Area 574 south of the Teton River, i.e. the
portion they did not then occupy.

13. Between 1874 and 1884 the South Piegan occupied that
B portion of Royce Area 565 from the Rockies to the neighborhood of
131 the Bearpaw Mountains over which they hunted buffalo. They were not
175 the exclusive occupants, however, because tribes living in Canada
came southward to hunt here also, and in increasing numbers after
G the buffalo disappeared north of the boundary in 1879. During this
131 period the small Gros Ventre tribe hunted in the portion of Royce
175 Area 565 between the Little Rockies and the Bearpaw Mountains. However they shared this area with the Upper Assiniboin, and, as buffalo
became scarce near the end of this period with Assiniboin, Cree and
other groups from Canada.

B 14. After the buffalo disappeared, both the South Piegan
G and Gros Ventre were compelled by the necessity of living primarily
657 upon Government rations, issued weekly at their Agencies, to settle
175 down within a few miles of their Agencies - the South Piegan on
131 Badger Creek and Birch Creek near the Blackfeet Agency, and the
648 Gros Ventre on Milk River near Fort Belknap Agency. As early as
1883 these tribes expressed their desire to Senator West and Delegate Maginnis to exchange their surplus lands for seeds, farming
equipment, etc. - the means with which to make a living on their
gameless land. This was the land occupied by these tribes at the

[p.190]

time of the 1888 Land Agreements. Although the South Piegan ac- B
cepted a reservation of their own, the Gros Ventre agreed to go G
upon a reservation with the Upper Assiniboin who had shared their 657
hunting ground and had participated in the Land Agreement with them. 175
In the case of the South Piegan no other tribe was involved in the 131
Land Agreement or placed upon the reservation with them. In their 648
case also the land occupied at the time of the cession was well within the area of the Blackfeet Reservation. In the case of the Gros Ventre it was necessary for them to move onto the Fort Belknap Reservation, from their homes near the abandoned Fort Belknap Agency farther up Milk River.

15. Between 1888 and the time the South Piegan negotiated B
their second Land Agreement in 1895, these Indians were issued cattle, 657
farming implements, etc., and they spread northward over the reserva- 648
tion to establish homes in the river valleys. However, they did not 311
establish homes in the mountainous area of the reservation which was 361
the portion ceded. They made use of that portion of their reserva- 175
tion for hunting, fishing and obtaining timber. Under the terms of the Agreement they reserved their hunting, fishing and timber rights in the ceded area.

[p.191]

INTRODUCTION

THE plan of this study was slow in development. When we first 121
went to the Northern Blackfoot reserve in Alberta on the initiative
of Dr. A. H. Maslow, we intended to concentrate on studies of social [101]
psychology. Dr. Richardson was the only experienced field worker
and anthropologist. Her part was to provide the necessary background
of ethnological data for the two psychologists, Maslow and
Hanks. Following this plan the party appeared with tents for the 122
Blackfoot Sun Dance of 1938. We spent a week being inspected,
trying to find a few people who would become our informants, and 123
in an amazingly short time discovered ourselves warmly received by
most of the Indians.

Before many days had passed, we learned that the Blackfoot 121
reserve contained several unique features. A substantial annual
income was coming to the tribe from the Dominion government as 651
interest on a two million dollar trust fund. The capital had been
acquired by selling a portion of the reserve when land prices soared
before and during World War I. This income was not simply divided 657
up on a per capita basis but was being used to give to all Blackfoot
certain social benefits. From cradle to grave no resident of the
reserve could starve, for rations of meat, flour, and tea were issued
weekly to everyone. With these funds houses had been built and
equipped with stoves, furniture, and bedding, and no Blackfoot had
to pay rent. When newly married couples moved into these houses,
they received in addition to the household equipment a team of
horses and a wagon to help with farming. The sick and aged not
only received free medical care in an excellent hospital but were
given extra rations of food and clothing. Farm machinery was
available. Expert care was given a man's cattle and when the latter
were butchered for his meat rations, he was also paid by weight for
the carcass. Cash could be had through the winter by anyone who
wished work at the Blackfoot coal mine.

These unusual facts revealed that we were visiting a community [121]

121 with basic social security, but we did not realize its complexity until
much later. This was partly the result of a preconception, for though
657 we knew that Blackfoot social security means primarily basic economic security, we had drifted into the assumption of a priority of economic factors over others. We were to realize that life in any community, let alone the Blackfoot reserve, involved many other equally poignant imperatives. Some of them were controllable by a benevolent administration, but others were not. The agency could protect the Indians on the reserve against discriminatory practices by whites, but it was helpless to keep them on jobs off the reserve. Reserve residents could be protected against the dangers of starvation, but could not be provided with the kind of inner psychological security that would encourage them to make their own way in the world.

These observations so interested us that we returned to Alberta
121 in the summers of 1939 and 1941 to study the social and psycho-
[101] logical effects of the economic security of the Blackfoot. At the same
time a study was projected by Columbia University under the guid-
114 ance of the late Dr. Ruth Benedict for comparing the Blackfoot reserve with the Blood and Piegan reserves, where the cultural backgrounds were somewhat the same, but where such social security was non-existent. Unfortunately, this programme has not been fully realized.[1]

121 Our problem of social security then took a new direction. We
had previously noted that the expected placidity of a secure people
121 was not present. Only during these summers did we realize the
impossibility of separating the factors of social security from the
152 factors of the administrative policy. The Indians readily accepted
657 the benefits of the trust funds but expressed considerable hostility
towards the agency officials. In other ways the problem also grew:
121 we observed that the Indians were dissatisfied and that their expec-
tations were partly conditioned by what the surrounding whites
152 possessed. How could an Indian raise wheat on forty acres, they
177 complained, when a white man needed a section before he could
make any money? Obviously the white world was a factor too. We
121 also heard complaints from the agency that the Indians were failing
to take advantage of the work opportunities provided. Farmers were
461 not cultivating their fields with the tractors and ploughs purchased

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[1] Some of these data have been published: cf. in Bibliography, studies by Oscar Lewis and Esther S. Goldfrank.

175 though he signed the treaty, refused to obligate himself to the whites,
648 by accepting a medal. Little Person, Eagle Robe, Chief Calf, all
respected men and chiefs, were excluded or refused to be honoured in this manner. They knew they were chiefs even without a medal and a gold-braided uniform. But the whites were very well satisfied with their accomplishment; they had subdued the most war-like tribe of the northern plains. They were oblivious of the internal complications that were shortly to arise because of the selection of chiefs.

Post-Treaty Movements

The Blackfoot, after this brief interruption of their usual movements,
648 immediately moved off in search of buffalo and against tribes
721 south of the boundary from whom they could steal without breaking
the newly signed treaty. For the first year after treaty Blackfoot life changed no more than the ego of an infant changes after christening. In his own band Crowfoot forbade raiding parties against the Crees, though other chiefs who lacked his feeling of responsibility
657 permitted their young men to go out. Back at Blackfoot
Crossing and Fort McLeod on the first anniversary of the payment, the Indians were disconcerted at receiving a smaller payment than before, but with a show of firmness, dignified by a knowledge of the terms of the treaty, Colonel McLeod was able to settle this question. The Indians solved the problem, too, for they discovered that by changing from a Hudson's Bay blanket to a buffalo robe and by using another name they could get as much if not more than formerly. The cattle had not arrived for distribution. But as the Indians did not wish to be encumbered by these stinking beasts, Colonel McLeod was relieved of having to explain his failure to carry out that part of the treaty.

[136] Things were moving according to plan. The end of the buffalo
had been predicted by the whites to occur towards the end of the
[224] eighties. During this time hunting would provide for the Indians.
In the meantime the Blackfoot would be gradually broken to the rein by increasing police supervision to keep them on their reserve and by giving them cattle and farm implements to provide them with sustenance.

511 It was, then, a surprise to the whites, as well as to the Indians,
to see the tragic bands that straggled into Blackfoot Crossing and
[224] Fort McLeod in the summer of 1879. All winter they had searched

for buffalo. Scouts had ridden forth from the camps in four directions, 511
but days later they returned reporting nothing, or a lone bull. 224
Sent back to bring in the bull, they would search often in vain. Or,
if found, it would provide only for the children. Deer, too, seemed 511
to have moved away, and people greedily ate skunks, badgers, 262
porcupines, and gophers. But as they threw the bones to the dogs,
hunger still gnawed in their bellies, and people tore up grass to eat.
The old people died, unable to endure the privations or to muster
strength for the long marches. Pushed far into the outer edge of 511
their usual hunting ground, the camps were subject to easy raid by [721]
the Dakotas and the Crows who took full advantage. Sickness
descended upon the herds and further reduced their numbers. Some [165]
luckier camps, following the advice of Father Scollen, went north
to the Saskatchewan River where they received rations from Governor
Laird in return for their labour. They learned to eat fish and [262]
muskrat like Crees and were relatively well off. But when they
turned south in spring, they found the scattered bands with parfleches
empty, reduced to eating carrion. Many chiefs turned north 657
and west in their plight, imploring aid from the whites. To Fort
McLeod and Calgary came a file of emaciated men and women,
children with swollen bellies, a few bony horses doubly burdened,
all trailed by the ever-present scrawny dogs.

At Fort McLeod the Bloods and Blackfoot, driven by hunger, [224]
began surreptitiously to shoot and eat the local cattle. Consequently
the Blackfoot were sent north to their reserve so that the Bloods
could be more easily managed. At Calgary, Inspector C. E. Denny
received deputations of gaunt men who demanded food.[1] Afraid of
the consequences of refusing, he gave what he could from his own
stores. But more Indians kept coming, and his stores were in danger
of exhaustion. In haste he sent to Fort McLeod for help. What
could he do with these starving people? Soon Colonel McLeod
appeared at Blackfoot Crossing. Crowfoot and Old Sun asked for
the cattle promised by the terms of the treaty, but fearful of what
would happen to these beasts at the hands of hungry Indians,
McLeod refused their request. A speedy call was sent to the farming
station at Pincher Creek to find a man who would start the Indians
to garden and care for cattle. Rations could be issued temporarily,
though it would be impossible to provide them for any length of

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[1] For a description of the years 1877-1885, cf. C. E. Denny, *Riders of the Plains* (Calgary, The Herald Company, Ltd., 1905).

657 time. Fortunately, buffalo were reported in the east, and if the
Indians could be lured to search for them, time might be gained.
Overnight the programme that was to have taken a decade to
develop had to be assembled. The Indians were dispatched eastward
to permit the making of arrangements.

224 With a supply of rations and equipment purchased by their
treaty money, the Blackfoot set out for the last time in search of
buffalo. They knew it would be a long trip, too hard for many; so
the old and halt were left behind to the charity of the police. South
and east they went, into the United States; buffalo were sighted.
On they pushed, farther south than ever before, camping even along
[721] the banks of the Yellowstone. They were attacked by enemy tribes,
but there was no alternative. Besides, outside the confines of the
treaty, the young men could retaliate. For a brief moment the old
657 life continued. The last *coups* were counted. Nor did they return
north during the next summer for treaty payment; life was too rich
796 to make it necessary. The Sun Dance was held in the south; they
ran races, bet high, played games and ate, when without buffalo, by
439 trading horses with the whites for food.

167 In the spring of 1881 even these last buffalo faded away. With
few horses and hides for trading, the Blackfoot were again desperate.
The chiefs deliberated but found no alternative except returning to
the reserve. Some could still trade horses, but with the spectre of
famine in mind most turned north. So as the last horses with tipi
cover and back rests piled high on the travois moved down the
bluffs from the rolling prairie to the thicketed flats of the Bow River,
the last move of the Blackfoot bands had ended. Henceforth these
were the lands where they would have to face the future with planted
feet.

The Garden Days

657 The territory which had been designated the Northern Blackfoot
131 reserve was well known to the Blackfoot. It was situated in the heart
of the country they had hunted for generations, and even contained
the site of the signing of their own treaty. The reserve is still located
on this spot in southern Alberta, about fifty miles east of Calgary
on the high plains. Travelling on the Canadian Pacific Railway
between Calgary and Medicine Hat, one skirts a portion of the
657 reserve. The agent's report of 1903 furnishes an excellent description
133 of its topography:

> The Bow river enters the reserve on the western side, near the northern boundary, and runs serpentinely across the reserve in a southeasterly direction, 657 making its exit near the southeast corner. Crowfoot Creek enters the northern 133 limits and empties into the Bow River about ten miles from the eastern border of the reserve and two Arrowood creeks flow through the southwestern portion emptying, too, into the Bow.
>
> There are numerous low-lying portions of land here and there on the reserve, which now have considerable water therein, owing to abundant rainfall for several seasons past.
>
> On the north side of the Bow River, about midway between the eastern and western limits of the reserve, there lies a range of low dunes, and on the southwestern portion to the south of the same river, are similar dunes. Near the southeastern corner is another group of hills, but they are of a rocky nature. On all [137] these hills, and at points along the river and creeks, there is more or less scrub and small timber.
>
> The true banks of the Bow River vary in their distances apart. Here and there they come within half a mile of each other, while at other points they are a mile and more apart. At several points within the reserve and on both sides of the river, are sharp cut banks, which seem to rise considerably over one hundred feet above the water. Between these cut banks there are fertile valleys, or bottom lands, part of which is clear open land and part covered with scrub.
>
> The upland portions of the reserve, with the exception of the three ranges of 133 hills previously referred to, is a rolling treeless prairie, with a few stony ridges. Both upland and bottom land produce excellent pasturage, and a fair supply 137 of grass sufficiently long for mowing can be found at intervals. . . .[1]

In the two years the bands were away there had been changes. 657 A farming instructor had moved in, built a house, and was caring 241 for a herd of cattle. Some of the old people were living in newly-erected huts near the ration house. Fifty acres of land had been seeded with turnips and potatoes.

The plans of the agency were under way. How else other than as gardeners could the Indians eat? And if the Indians had nothing to eat, how would it be possible to keep them off the warpath and on the reserve? The first step was to give out food rations until the 657 gardens were well grown. This was costly, but an Indian with a full 262 belly was not as dangerous as a hungry Indian. So was begun the ration system, a system which in the future was to have exceedingly important consequences for these people. Officialdom expected that as the gardens increased and cattle were issued, it could gradually withdraw this costly beef, flour, and tobacco. Now the first problem was to settle the Indians.

As the bands came in from the south in ever increasing numbers 657

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1903, p. 146.

657 and established camp around the ration house, uneasy days followed for the farming instructor. Ferocious-looking men stalked gloomily outside his house, whip in hand and rifle slung over the shoulder. These were the men he was to lure out of tipis and teach to build houses. There was nothing to do but hand out beef and flour, hope that there would be enough to go around, and pray that this would make them amenable to work.

657 A few of the milder men were taken aside and instructed in the art of joining logs so that they could help the others build huts.
342 With axes as the only tool and logs fastened together by raw-hide thongs, a few huts were built along the banks of the river. It was not until a second ration house was built to decentralize the bands, that house-building began in earnest. Some of the conservative ones preferred to remain in tipis, but in general people took quickly to the new huts. In the first place there were no more hides with which to construct tipi covers; the only substitute, canvas, was beyond the means of most to obtain and afforded inadequate protection in winter. Moreover, the mud-chinked cabins with turf roof and fireplace or packed earth were much warmer, despite the objections of some old men. To be sure they were much more difficult to transport, but the need for long journeys was no longer present. If one wanted to change his location a short distance, the logs could still
[768] be torn apart and reassembled on a clean site. When someone died in the family and the survivors felt "lonesome" in the old dwelling, the house was readily pulled down and the logs given to relatives.
361 So villages of appearing and disappearing houses were built in the neighbourhood of a chief, very much like the winter camps of the old days in the foothills.

657 More difficult than the establishment of houses was the attempt to induce these meat-eaters to garden. Little appetite for the strange
241 roots grown by the farm instructor, coupled with a fair subsistence
177 on rations, was not a very satisfactory setting for the introduction of a new technology. In fact, to grovel in the dirt when one was accustomed to riding over it on a fast buffalo horse seemed demeaning. Though the instructors tried to enlist the young men by threats and promises, many were set against it. This was the white man's way of doing things, and they were Indians. The whites had already done enough to disrupt the Indian way of life without in-
657 sisting that all work like whites. Later, the farm instructors might
241 have exerted pressure by threatening to withdraw rations, but at

that time a conciliatory policy had to be followed for fear of revolt. 657
In desperation the instructor did much of the work himself. If one
day an Indian were cajoled into helping, on the following day he 241
would carefully absent himself. The first crops raised by hit-or-miss
means were given over to the band chiefs for distribution to their
followers.

On the east end of the reserve, where Crowfoot was living, 241
gardening was woeful enough. But on the west end where four
bands encamped in the neighbourhood of the second ration house, 177
resistance to gardening was stubborn. Only four men from all these
camps could be induced to co-operate, and the chiefs steadfastly
condemned gardening. The others went north to hunt deer, or set
traps along the backwaters of the river. Those with horses enough
lived by trading them. The four co-operators were middle-aged men
who had not been particularly successful in war; they also lacked
the property that would enable them to live comfortably. Being
poor, they could not join the societies where wealthy young men
danced before admiring relatives. There was little to gain by following the Indian patterns; so these four individually agreed to
learn the painful white way of getting along. While others were
dancing in the Sun Dance lodge, and watching the re-enactment of
famous war deeds, the four remained behind to hoe and weed their
respective gardens. When irritated people asked them why they
wished to work and act like whites, they said nothing, but thought
to themselves, "We are going to be treated like this all our lives.
I do not want to be hard up. I don't care what people say." In the
fall they received, like chiefs, the vegetables they themselves had [657]
raised, and in addition, as special rewards from the whites for industriousness, clothing and extra rations. Sometimes these men gave [431]
the food and other articles to the chiefs of their bands in token of
allegiance. Other times the product of their labour was given as
gifts to relatives with the usual expectation of a return gift. The [657]
inspector from Calgary commended these four men in a public ceremony, but the recalcitrant Indians merely took this as further
evidence that the Indian ways were being forsaken.

The first real argument for gardening came when the chiefs of
the unco-operative bands, sitting in the shade of a store at Gleichen,
saw men from other bands ride up on their horses with a sack of
potatoes and leave a few minutes later with a new axe, a blanket,
and some beads. Similarly, to be unable to return generosity with [431]

a veritable epidemic of society dances and ceremonials sprang up, attended by all who could pay the price. Those who knew the songs 535 and rituals suddenly stepped into the limelight, even though they 796 may have had but few war deeds to their credit. Here was a new 555 opportunity to be known, to stand out before all others and to espouse the Indian way of life. Men resolved to join every society and to own every medicine bundle. Then in a smoking ceremony where each could display his ritual accomplishments, even the young who had never seen an enemy camp could compete on equal grounds with the taunts of the old. In terms of property and sacred regalia they might even make these old warriors shy before them.

As a result medicine bundles and society regalia were furiously 575 bought and sold. Each new buyer, showing his generosity by paying more than the previous owner, ridiculed his society enemies for 778 stinginess. Prices for membership in the Horn society soared from [432] a gun and blanket before treaty to a horse, and from one horse to [435] several horses. These prices reflect the favourable conditions for horse-breeding. In five years the number of horses on the reserve 231 doubled, from 540 in 1885 to 1,085 in 1890, according to the agency estimates. In the years around 1900 there were nearly 3,000 horses, [435] and it was not unknown to pay sixty horses for a Medicine Pipe.

Officialdom looked askance upon these activities, for this care-free circus took time away from gardening and prolonged unnecessarily 657 the process of making the Blackfoot self-sufficient. At first 177 the great problems for the agents were in keeping the Indians on the reserve, preventing horse-stealing, and attempting to interest them in the care of their houses and gardens. Then the Sun Dance 796 with its misunderstood torture ceremony became an irritation. Some whites conceived the chief object of the Sun Dance to be the fur- 785 nishing of a sadistic spectacle to the Indians, who were imagined 177 to smack their lips in delight as the young men tore the skewers 657 from their flesh.[1] As soon as this phase of the ceremony could be abolished, the Sun Dance would disappear, they believed, for the

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[1] The Sun Dance was an annual ceremony intended to ensure the people against disaster. The central rites, led by a woman, lasted only four days, but many other events also occurred during this season. Since this was the one time of the year when the entire tribe camped together, it was an occasion for joyful renewing of acquaintance, exchanging property, and feasting bosom companions. Among such varied activities, the torture ceremony was a relatively minor event participated in by a few. These were mainly warriors on a raid who, in peril of their lives, had sought the aid of the sun, vowing that, if they returned safely, they would give flesh in return. If they escaped successfully, these men were obliged to fulfil their side of the contract. In the ceremony skewers were driven through the muscles of the chest and back to be torn loose by the participant in a dance.

796 785 177 657 incentive to participation would be absent. Accordingly, Crowfoot was urged to help to abolish the torture ceremony, though death spared him the embarrassment. In 1890 Indian Agent Magnus Begg took matters into his own hands. He rode up to the Sun Dance lodge at the height of the activities, and, fortified by the sanctions of the Church of England in the person of the Reverend J. Tims, asked the chiefs to stop this part of the ceremony. To the amazement of these two men, the request was complied with immediately.

797 Capitalizing on the Blackfoot's deep-lying interest in the supernatural, the clergy was constantly proselytizing. Unlike their Protestant brethren, the Roman Catholics did not stress the dichotomy of Christianity and Indian beliefs. Rather they permitted these ignorant children of God to follow their own ways, subtly fostering at the same time a greater dependence on the Church and sending their souls onward, purified by the baptismal rites. The unbending Protestant, however, insisted that a man could not worship fetishes and the omnipotent Christian God at the same time; moreover, the Indians were also expected to part with their extra wives before entering the church. Such abnegation required greater conviction than most Indians had. Few Indians could face the tribal rejection that occurred when a wife was sent away for this reason and sacred bundles destroyed. Converts were for the most part unsteadfast, for as soon as crops failed and horses died, thereby proving the impotence of the white religion, they returned to their old forms of supernatural protection.

797 871 The great tension between the Roman Catholic Church and the Indians arose over schools rather than doctrinal affairs. In 1884, seven years after treaty, Father Lacombe had completed the construction of St. Joseph Industrial School at High River near Calgary, and was searching the camps for children untouched by Indian "prejudice," whose minds would be receptive to Christianity. A few parents were induced to part with their children, but a few days later, lonely in their tipis, yearning for the departed child, and preyed upon by gossip about heartless whippings, many an anxious parent went to the school to reclaim his child. The first years tried Father Lacombe's patience severely. Not only were his lambs seized from the fold, but they were a wild lot at best. They gulped the proffered food, refused to go to bed at night, "laughed and sang, and with the Indians' power of ridicule made light of the odd furniture."[1] Father Lacombe,

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[1] Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

657 Indian Commissioner E. Dewdney may have already seen the
failure of gardening as an occupation when in 1885 he defended the
241 costly rationing system against its critics. "The present system that
obtains is to extract as much work as possible for the food given
them."[1] In fact, by permitting many families to hunt during the
winter, a savings of several thousand dollars was effected in the
purchase of meat rations. Obviously, however, gardens were but a
stopgap and not the royal road to self-sufficiency. Other types of
income-producing work would have to be found.

135 For a decade, coal deposits were known to be present along the
bluffs of the Bow River. Attempts to induce white capital to develop
316 this resource had been made with no success. The coal lay idle until
1889, when a miner was hired to teach the Indians its extraction.
[177] A few Indians living in adjacent villages co-operated in this venture
and were rewarded with five or six dollars from time to time. Others,
[492] with a wagon loaned by the agency, hauled coal to the stoves of
reserve officials. A caravan of twenty ox-drawn carts was then
formed to freight coal to High River for the Industrial School. Old
Calf Bull wisely perceived the value of this project and, as chief of
the Bakers band, recruited his young men to help, dividing the
receipts among the workers. A year or two later Bear Robe and
Many Meats started mines themselves, which even in the absence
of the white miner kept their relatives in dresses and leggings
[439] through the winter. By 1900 many a small timbered shaft had been
dug, and Blackfoot coal pedlars appeared in the growing white
villages of the neighbourhood. Little boys, too small to mine, posted
themselves as watchers along the trails leading to the river to spot
the wagon of an approaching rancher and direct it to the mine of
their relatives.

314 Another means of increasing Indian self-sufficiency was found
in haying. Hay was needed for the ration cattle and for the white
177 ranchers' herds outside the reserve. The Indians were a cheap source
of labour; prairie grass was thick and abundant; the work was
strenuous but not complex. The Indians with their penchant for
roving could rove to their heart's content in search of hay. Moreover,
the agent thought this work would prepare them for the day
when they themselves would handle cattle, and rations could be
abolished.

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, p. 144.

In the beginning, hay was cut for the ration house. In 1892 the 314 first hay harvest was reported, 162 tons, enough to winter the cattle that always had to be on hand for rations. A few years later hay 314 cutting became an acknowledged occupation. A rancher, applying to the agent, would hire a chief and his followers to camp near his 462 corral and cut hay for his cattle. With scythes, rakes, and forks the gang made stack after stack, paid richly with a steer's carcass for each stack. In the fall, when these gangs returned to the reserve, their parfleches were filled to the brim. In 1898, the agent, G. H. Wheatley, reporting signs of progress, spoke of Weasel Calf, Running Rabbit, and others as having bought mowers and horse rakes.

With the harvesting of hay well under way, it was deemed that 657 the time had come to introduce cattle to the Indians. Accordingly a trial balloon was launched by way of an arrangement to exchange 231 cattle for horses with any Indian who wished them. The farm instructor was to show the individual families how to care for these beasts.

Little did the agent appreciate the ramifications of this move. Crowfoot, though willing in starvation days to accept cattle, changed his mind after having enjoyed the pleasant security of rations, and opined that cattle spelled the end of this security. This attitude [177] was so prevalent that when cattle were offered, the old cry of white versus Indian ways renewed itself. Rumour had it that once cattle were established, rations would be abolished and the Blackfoot would be moved north from their ancient habitat to fend for themselves in the bush country. People set their jaws to resist, so that 231 when fourteen traitors traded horses for cattle in 1895, an uproar 578 broke loose. Common folk who took them were sometimes driven from the band village. Brothers who had camped side by side for years moved apart with bitter words. The eminent ceremonialist Calf Child was shunned by his friends. Even such a prominent man as Calf Bull, though untouchable by dint of his wealth and prestige, was widely criticized.

At first many of these deviants managed to live in the band 231 villages as before, their cattle safe in the corrals of the farm instructors. Through the year they cut hay for their own stock, learned to wean cattle, and acquired skill in husbandry. A year or two later [166] some of these people, anxious to move out of earshot of their carping neighbours, set up separate establishments with their own cattle out on the prairie. They built rough corrals in which to house the

high, for in 1900 less than 40 per cent of the 129 children of school 871
age attended school. Boarding-school attendance was better, for the
parents who consented to giving up their children knew at least that
they were fed. This institution gradually replaced the day-school,
for the children could be isolated there from the "heathenish" influence
of their parents. The whole situation was incomprehensible to 657
the Indians, especially when Markle, acting on his conviction that
the only way to make an Indian self-supporting was to make him 829
work, withdrew rations and inaugurated the work-or-starve policy.
They were almost dazed by the blow. The agent claimed to look
after the welfare of the Indians, therefore he was the chief. But a
good chief would bankrupt himself for the welfare of his followers.
Yet this agent-chief had a comfortable house while the Indians lived
in shacks. He had money, while their pockets were empty. He had
a horse and democrat while the Indians travelled with a travois in
his dust. Certainly every Indian Agent had failed to assume the
chiefly role of generosity and personal responsibility.

There were three responses to this incomprehensible behaviour.
The first was apathy, and as some described it, "Some people just
died, like of a broken heart." Others sought crooked or degrading [685]
ways of obtaining needed articles, like stealing, or begging; while [135]
many Indians sought to remain apart from the whites. Free cattle
were often refused, not because their economic value was questioned 657
but because accepting them implied an obligation to the
agent. Every Blackfoot knows that a gift is given with great display 231
of generosity, but it always carries with it an expectation of future 431
return. Big Snake, a hard-working man, would have nothing to do
with cattle because of being obligated. Eagle Ribs, too, spurned the
beasts because the brand of the Indian Department showed that
they were not his own cattle and implied reciprocity. Three Suns
refused agency-given cattle, bought his own instead, and lived as
remote from the white influence as possible.

Through these years of cattle-raising life went on with many 177
irritations. Some who accepted white direction prospered; most eked
out a living driven by necessity rather than respect for the white
man's ways. Times were hard (though perhaps no harder than in
buffalo days) yet they retained few of the former rewards. One 796
informant said that the only happy times were at the Tobacco Dance
and at the Sun Dance, where spiritual exaltation and conviviality
supplanted briefly the drudgery of earning a living.

432 were sold, realizing $1,276,190.92 or roughly $23 per acre. The re-
434 maining odd pieces of surrendered land were rented or leased to
expand still further the Blackfoot trust fund. The management of
657 these funds was assumed by the Department of Indian Affairs,
annual sums, representing interest on the capital, being sent to the
agent for maintenance and improvement of the reserve.

432 Several factors can be traced leading to this decision to sell the land. Among them are: (1) the land policy of the Department of Indian Affairs; (2) white settlement under the Canadian Pacific Railway's land development scheme; (3) the personality and activities of Markle, Indian Inspector for Southern Alberta; (4) the reserve conditions leading to the Indians' approval of the surrender.

648 Surrender and sale of land on Indian reserves was not a new thing for the Department of Indian Affairs. In all treaties of recent date the Indians had agreed to abide by Her Majesty's laws, which, of course, included future as well as existing laws. The specific laws governing Indians were not issues at the signing of most treaties, but all soon heard of the Indian Act. In this collection of statutes governing the treatment of Indians, provision for the surrender of Indian lands was made in Section 51, where surrender occurs by the consent of a majority of the adult males living on a reserve. Every annual report of the Department mentions the sale of some Indian land, from a few hundred acres to several thousand. For example, James A. Smart, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs, reported in 1897 the sale of 14,541 acres of land from various Canadian reserves, realizing roughly 87 cents an acre. Where land was valuable, for instance, adjoining a sizable village, or with mineral resources, the Department encouraged Indian inhabitants to part with it and move to new reserves. Despite continuous sale of these land fragments, it was scarcely an avowed policy to liquidate reserves, as was the practice at this time in the United States. It was rather a minor friendly accommodation to white settlers. There was no aim of bettering the status of the Indian population from the receipts of the sales. Usually the sums were too trifling to be of any great benefit, and they were divided among the tribe or invested in some permanent manner such as a school.

With growing white population in the West there was a corresponding increase in pressure to acquire reserve lands, so that in 1908, for example, 40,163 acres were surrendered, realizing a total of $167,776.88 or roughly an average of $4.18 per acre. Such in-

648 lying in the arid region between Calgary and Medicine Hat in southern Alberta. This area had, in an early survey by Hind and Palliser, been condemned as unfit for agriculture.[1] Nevertheless the railway, seeking a thickly populated region for maximum receipts, accepted this tract with the expectation of irrigating the land from the Bow River. The area was roughly 180 miles from east to west and 50 miles from north to south along the main line of the railway. Shortly after acceptance the land was surveyed, ditches were constructed, "ready-made" farms were built with houses, barns and sheds, even crops were sown, and cheap fares to the West were ordered. Soon the countryside was swarming with new-comers.

Right in the centre of the tract ceded by the Dominion government lay at least one area which could not be taken over by the Canadian Pacific. This was the Blackfoot reserve. It had many desirable characteristics in the eyes of the whites. Since it straddled the Bow River, few additional canals had to be made to bring in water. The quality of the land, with the exception of a few sandy patches, was equal to any in the vicinity. The railway itself constituted a portion of the northern boundary, so that the main artery of transportation was easily accessible. This area, all in all, warranted higher prices. It is not surprising that such land was coveted. When in addition there was a press of homeseekers, excellent prices for wheat, speculators avid for profit, and above all, in the whites' opinion, "shiftless" Indians occupying and "misusing" fine land, all these factors converged as political pressure upon the Department of Indian Affairs, making it difficult for an official even with sympathetic and paternal attitudes toward the Blackfoot to refuse to admit the desirability of their surrendering a portion of the reserve.

651 A third contributing factor seems to have been the attitudes and personality of one man, who more than any other single person seemed to be involved in implementing the sale of the land. In 1901, Markle was made Indian agent on the Blackfoot reserve. Since 1885 he had been in the service of the Department as Indian agent. The Indian commissioner had been dissatisfied with the progress on the Blackfoot reserve and sought an energetic, resolute person. To fill this need, Markle came to the Blackfoot directly from the Birtle agency in Manitoba. Birtle consisted of a number of small, isolated reservations chiefly populated by Sioux and Salteaux. The short growing season, punctuated by frequent hail and frost, made living

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[1] James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West* (New York, Macmillan, 1939), p. 4.

difficult for these Indians, particularly since they depended on agriculture and herding, for which a good stand of hay and a snowless 657 winter is desirable. Yet, with perseverance, perhaps born of desperation, they steadily worked with their small resources, hunted, hired out to white farmers, built neat log cabins, sent their children to school, and gave every appearance of industry. It was a severe shock for Markle, used to such rigours of existence, to come to the Blackfoot reserve. In comparison with the Sioux and the Salteaux, the Blackfoot were living in a natural paradise. Here was good soil, some hail of course, a comparatively long growing season, and abundant hay for the cutting. Despite all these advantages and free 657 seed for their gardens, little was grown. The cattle stipulated in the treaty had been offered but had been refused by many. 511 Few children were in school. Instead of clean, neat cabins, there were many fetid hovels. Instead of working diligently, the people dressed in buckskins and got drunk at bronco-riding celebrations in neighbouring towns. To make matters still worse, these Blackfoot were living on rations provided by the government, scarcely lifting a finger in their own behalf. The Department was actually fostering indolence. Such conditions did not long continue when Markle became responsible.

In his first report a few months after arrival he had already begun his programme:

> For a good many years after the consummation of Treaty No. 7, these Indians [231] tried to make themselves believe that it was the imperative duty of the government to supply all their food and other requirements, and many of the band positively refused to accept cattle for fear the government might expect them to support themselves. I am particularly pleased to report that many of this band are now beginning to see things differently in this connection and are now exhibiting evidence of a desire to be self-supporting . . .
>
> When every able-bodied Indian possesses a herd of cattle, cultivates a reasonable area of land to provide sufficiency of potatoes, turnips, carrots and garden 657 stuff for household requirements, there will be no necessity for the gratuitous 511 issue of food by the government to strong able-bodied men and women; and 241 hopes may then be entertained of making these moral weaklings good citizens and a credit and profit to our country, and not a burden and expense. . . .
>
> The farming operations are not as extensive as I should like, particularly as regards the growing of potatoes and other roots as well as garden stuff, although I am told—as I have only hearsay evidence—that the Indians put in their grain and attended to their root and garden crop better this season than ever before. The crops now promise a fair return, and, I trust, will be an incentive to them to do greater work in the future . . .
>
> I had charge of the Birtle agency from the summer of 1885 to the end of 657 September last, when I was transferred to this agency, and when I remind the department that the gratuitous issue of food at the former agency did not cost

> 657 the government over $200 per annum as against $25,000 here, there being about equal number of Indians in both agencies, the department will not wonder when I say that the change to me was most marked. The food issue to the Blackfeet has cost the government several thousand dollars less the last fiscal year than ever before, which is tangible evidence that the Indians have made a step toward self-support, and to my mind a step upwards.[1]

This report did not escape the attention of the Deputy Superintendent, James A. Smart. The latter foresaw discontent on the part of the Indians, should this fire-brand make his changes too rapidly. Attempting to conciliate Markle, Smart explained in his report of the year:

> 657 231 The prejudice of these Indians to cattle was largely instilled by Crowfoot, the head chief of the Blackfoot nation, and survived his death, which occurred in 1890. He always impressed upon his people that their acceptance of cattle would be the precursor of the closing of the government's ration-house; but in view of the great influence exerted by him for good and the assistance given by him to the department in dealing with his people who comprised the most warlike tribes and who from their situation close to the boundary line, and intimate relationship with tribes on the other side, might under different leadership have caused endless trouble, his memory need not be held in less esteem, because on first contact with civilization, he failed to grasp what it has required so many years of education to bring the most progressive of his people to realize, viz., that it is in every way far better for themselves to learn to depend upon their own exertions than upon the charity of the government...
>
> Naturally the prejudice was most deeply rooted among the Blackfeet people, who were his more immediate followers, but even among them there are clear signs of its giving way, for among them they now hold some eight hundred head of cattle, and others of their number are becoming clamorous to be supplied. Caution has, however, to be exercised to accommodate the meeting of their desires to their ability to take proper care of stock, and this, it is obvious, they cannot learn to do in a day...[2]

657 Despite the suggestions of his conservative superior, Markle heeded only the encouraging phrases of the foregoing statement and proceeded with his plans. In the following year, as if in reply to Smart, the agent justified his programme on moral grounds:

> When I assumed charge of this agency, less than two years ago, I thought I could see self-support in the distance and within reach of the able-bodied men and women of the Blackfoot tribe. I have tried to keep this desirable haven in sight, for in my mind nothing withers, and eventually destroys, true manhood, more surely than the gratuitous issues of food to those who have the strength to earn it for themselves.[3]

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1901, pp. 129-31.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. XXIII.

[3] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1902, p. 126.

Crowfoot was right in saying that the introduction of cattle spelled [657] the end of rations, for two years later Markle had already reduced the bi-weekly issue of ration to a weekly issue. [231] In lieu of the ration system he introduced the "self-support" ration where persons with cattle could turn into the ration house a steer as credit for future rations and subsequently draw up to 15 lb. of meat per week until the credit was exhausted. By encouraging herding, he hoped to increase the number of beef cattle for the Blackfoot and, as it grew, withdraw the rations. He also hoped to provide an outside source [657] of income by leasing the reserve coal seam to a mining company, but no white stepped forward to exploit this resource.

Shortly thereafter Markle left the agency, but his influence continued to determine policy through his position as Inspector of Agencies for Alberta. Through H. E. Sibbald the programme of self-support proceeded. In 1906 Sibbald reported:

> I consider these Indians are fairly well equipped, and by next spring should be in a position almost, if not entirely, to support themselves. [231] The Indians will have enough beef animals of their own raising to supply the demand for the coming and succeeding years. Two more families have been added to the total self-support, and a number more to semi self-support list. . .[1]

On the dawn of the year of self-support a stroke of fate occurred. [231] Nearly half the herd that had been so carefully cared for died of starvation in the deep snow. Most persons would have been discouraged by this providential intervention which would seem to postpone for many years the campaign's goal of self-support. But Markle and Sibbald were undaunted; under no circumstances would there be a return of rations; and the programme continued despite the scarcity of beef. They curtailed still more the issue of rations. By 1908 only the infirm were helped; the others had to shift for themselves.

One lesson, however, was soon learned from these events. Cattle and haying were not enough to make the Blackfoot self-supporting. [433] Besides, there was grumbling among the Indians. Occasionally cattle would disappear, killed surreptitiously by hungry Indians. [231] It was necessary to provide some additional source of income to take these people through the long months between the end of coal-mining and the annual slaughter and sale of beef cattle. A possible solution to this problem had already been introduced in some of the reserves lying to the east. This was agriculture, and settlers had shown

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1906, p. 164.

657 agriculture on a major scale to be possible even without irrigation. But it was expensive, required equipment, large machinery, and competent instructors. David Laird, then Indian Commissioner, in his report for 1908 attempted to justify the introduction of agriculture to the critics of his spending policies:

> While the expenditure upon Indians has reached a large figure, it is to be remembered that it is based upon the principle of spending in the present for the purpose of making the Indian ultimately self-supporting, instead of spending for the mere purpose of feeding him for an indefinite time. In the distinctly agricultural agencies the ration house, as it once existed, is practically a thing of the past, and all but the old and infirm may now be classed as self-supporters, some gaining their livelihood in the main by mixed farming, and those who have not yet taken to agriculture, through different forms of labour performed for hire. In the distinctively cattle-raising reserves the reducing of free rations continues. . .[1]

[241] If it had not already occurred to him, this may have given Markle the idea. Still avid for making the Blackfoot self-supporting, he quickly accepted agriculture as a necessary prop to his plan. But agriculture was expensive, and the Department could not afford to give more in developing these new projects, since they had already
657 complained about expenditures. Surely Markle read the statement
432 of 1908, where Pedley said that sale of land would be welcomed where it was useless to the Indians and might be sold profitably, and where the proceeds could be used for the benefit of the Indians.[2] Thus the cost of agriculture could be defrayed by selling a portion of the coveted reserve land. This would, indeed, implement the self-support campaign.

657 Despite the presence of a seasoned new agent, J. H. Gooderham, who had come from the Piegan reserve in 1908 and who was well able to handle affairs by himself, Markle visited and revisited the reserve, nourishing his programme. Gooderham carefully refrained from interfering and avoided all reference in his reports to self-
657 support. When the day of surrender finally came, Markle considered
241 his job still unfinished and himself directed the introduction of agriculture and the relocation of Indians on farms. Three years later he was still personally supervising the activity, for he wrote in his report for 1913:

> I spent a good deal of time during the first half of the year in starting to carry out the conditions contained in a surrender of land made by the Blackfoot in

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1908, p. 194.
[2] Cf. p. 37.

> 1910. Over 60 cottages, with stables, wood-sheds and other outbuildings in 657
> connection, have up to date been erected under the surrender agreement on
> farms, and for use and benefit of individual Indian families. Two steam motor 241
> plough outfits, besides a lot of implements, were purchased, and about 1500 [342]
> acres of land was broken last season and is now under crop at this reservation.[1]

Thus Markle, through the dauntless inflexibility of his purpose, [343]
through the ethnocentric clarity of his moral judgment, and through [407]
abundant energy, engineered nearly single-handed this achievement.
He saw himself transforming a shiftless, beggarly people that had 657
been a troublesome problem to the Department into an industrious
and above all a self-supporting group.

During this time the Indians were not entirely the passive pawns of historic changes and departmental policy. Though their wishes might seem to be passed over on occasion, the Dominion government ordinarily appealed for permission before introducing major changes into their lives. This was particularly necessary in questions concerning land, for though the Indians were wards of the government, they still possessed through the stipulations of the treaties and unambiguous phrasing of the Indian Act a voice in the disposal of their land. This right, safeguarded by placing native interests under Crown jurisdiction, effectively took the matter out of the hands of local pressure groups of whites. What factors then led the Indians to agree to surrender land?

One motive leading to surrender was a basic need for security
against poverty. Despite the presence of cattle on the reserve, the 657
number of cattle owners was not large. Some Blackfoot had been
given calves with which to begin herds. Others were expected to buy 231
them by selling horses or accumulating the necessary amount of cash. But few had either the desire for cattle or a sufficient herd of horses to warrant parting with these symbols of wealth. Even among whites, conditioned since childhood to revere saving and thrift, it is almost impossible, when living near the margin of subsistence, to save an amount over and above clothing and food large enough to permit major purchases. It would be even more difficult for Indians, untrained in these white virtues, to accumulate the necessary funds. Besides, the incentive for ownership became less after the winter of 1906-7 when those who had bought cattle had nothing left but emaciated carcasses lying in the snow.

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1913, p. 187.

511 A wealthy Blackfoot who owned cattle at the time[A] described the conditions on the reserve, showing clearly the narrow distribution of wealth:

> Before selling the land, things were tough. I would go on ration day and get a quarter of beef and then have something to help out with. My wife was good and generous, and the meat would be divided among the relations and neighbours. There were others, too. Some old bachelors with no wives were also boarded by my wife. A few were related to her, but the rest were not.
>
> In winter it was hardest to get cash for groceries. Indians would ask for our sleigh to haul coal; one would go to the mines and haul coal to the office. When he got back, another man would want it. My wife finally said, "Let them have the sleigh to make money." These hard times kept on year after year.

[657] When over and above these rather normal difficulties for the poor, free rations were withdrawn entirely, and the self-support rations introduced, poverty became grimmer and hunger more acute. Certainly many chiefs, who were responsible for the welfare of the poor, had neither the herd nor the necessary cash to buy beef. The result was a frantic search for subsistence, which one informant describes as follows:

> [How did people get along without rations?] People had a hard time, but the
> ones that were working all the time got by all right. People could sell dry wood
> [571] to white men. The ones without work were very hungry. People with grub
> gave to the others. This lasted for about a year; if it had been two years, it
> [464] would have been very hard. I worked as a hired man for white farmers. People
> were thrashing. Then there were odd jobs among the whites. People planted
> [241] vegetable gardens which gave them some things to sell. When the crop was
> ripe, each harvested and divided his own vegetables. Others killed prairie
> [224] chickens, rabbits and other game. All could barely manage for food.

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224
Another solution was to leave the reserve and hunt, which the following informant describes along with the effect of the absence of rations on ceremonial life:

> In my 14th year (1900) at the Sun Dance there were more (cheap) tents than tipis. After two days every one went home because it was no fun. Then all our band moved to Hind Bull's camp. There Hind Bull said to my father: "We'll stay here until after treaty payment. Then we shall go 'way east and hunt." The women all picked berries and tanned hides. After the payment of treaty money, they bought ammunition and moved east. We would hunt every day and kill two or three deer and antelope. Mother made dried meat. She saved the bones and smashed them and cooked them to get fat. In summer father worked for whites, but in the winter they all hunted together on the Red Deer river.

[A] [i.e., ca. 1910--Analyst]

These are in part reversions to former means of satisfying needs, 511
i.e., gardening and hunting, forms of support found during the eighties after moving on to the reserve for the first time.

The picture of white settlers may also have acted as an incentive 177
to surrender land. No Indian who rode the country turnpike and worked a few days at white farms could fail to see the relative advantages of white existence. The Blackfoot may not have known that these farmers were frequently gambling weather conditions against a considerable sum of money owed the railway company for their ready-made farms and that it was a tight squeeze to make these payments. However, in material goods the comparison was obvious. The whites had good clothing, well-furnished houses, barns with good horses and wagons. On Saturday they returned from the store in town, their buggies brimming with groceries. These whites 241
were growing wheat, and when it was stated that the Indians too could grow wheat, if they sold the land, these tangible rewards [432]
seemed accessible for the first time.

Further vigour was given to this argument by reports from visitors to other reserves. The Blood Indians had ploughed their land and had been raising wheat since 1908, the North Piegans even earlier. One could readily see the wealth of these Indians. Besides, [177]
even the Crees, long despised by the Blackfoot, were farming and would soon be better off than their old enemy.

The realization that there was a case for farming is shown by a 241
reported conversation between a chief and Markle:

> Once, before he was made a chief, the informant went to the Crees and Bloods 657
> and saw their farms. So he asked Mr. Markle if they couldn't have farms too. 432
> Markle: "You haven't enough money to farm with. The Crees sold land; Bloods sold longhorn cattle for money to start farms." Informant: "Then we'd better sell that land on the other side of the river for money to start farms." Markle: "You can't make that decision yourself. Consult the people and chiefs in a meeting, and see if they want to."

A frequently cited point of view emphasized the desirability of 657
constant rations. Their curtailment was not a new thing, for in the past this device had been used as a means of enforcing conformity to the dicta of the agent. Markle in 1903 describes such an event during his incumbency as agent:

> It may be remembered that, in my last report, I expressed thankfulness that 657
> there had been no plural marriages during the preceding year. That report was 595

> 657 barely out of my hand when I learned that three members of the band were dissatisfied with one wife each and had taken another. I immediately directed
> 595 that the rations of these families be withheld until such time as they saw fit to obey the rules in this respect. One family missed one ration, and then decided that it was better policy to abide by the rules. The other two families held out for several rations, and then they succumbed and put away wife No. 2. The rationing of able-bodied men and women had many objectionable features to me, but I must confess that, in these three instances, it gave a leverage to settle an objectionable custom, for the time being at least.[1]

657 It was hence natural that when the Indians suffered in 1908 a repetition of the withdrawal of rations, they should search for the agent's
657 objective. To compel the surrender of the land was the objective that many ascribed. Under such circumstances, with poverty in-
432 creasing and the stocks of food diminishing, only one answer came to them—to sell the land if that would mean getting rations. One informant expressed a typical view:

> The rations were cut. That is why Yellow Horse pitied the people. People thought that this was done to make them give up the land. They knew that as long as the land were not sold the rations would be cut off. At first there were more who did not want to sell and thought they could get rations anyway. Later, people for and against selling the land were about even.

432 For two years at the bi-monthly meetings of the council the plan to sell the land was continuously brought up by its advocates. This
829 group of persons, led by Yellow Horse, had been successful under white economy. They looked to the future, "We have to sell this land in order to get rations and so that the young people can grow up healthy. They have been dying. You ought to think of the younger people. We cannot stay as we are now. We shall be more like whites, and life will be easier." The opposition was led by dauntless old warrior chiefs such as Eagle Calf and Iron Shield, brother of Crowfoot. They had seen the Indians tricked by the original treaty of 1877 into giving up their land. They would be tricked no more; what they now had they would cling to. Those who wished to sell the land were both the dupes of the whites and underminers of Indian existence, they said.

Persistently, Yellow Horse continued his efforts. The meetings were violent name-calling affairs. Both sides accused the other of seeking profit. Yellow Horse was "crazy; he wanted to be head chief but was too lazy when he was young to go to war to get horses." Eagle Calf was "a wealthy man and so could afford to neglect the

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1903, p. 147 ff.

THE RETURNS FOR THE LAND

432 The provisions of the agreement stated that the Indians were to surrender about 115,000 acres lying principally on the south side of the Bow River; this land constituted nearly half of the reserve. Upon surrender, it became the obligation of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to dispose of the land in the way that 651 would be most beneficial to the tribe. The agreement guaranteed to the Indians a minimum return from their lands of $1,800,000, though there was no time limit for accumulating this sum.

The handling of the proceeds from the sale fell under two headings. First, a sum of $400,000 was to be made immediately available to the Indians for capitalization of agriculture. Of this sum, $350,000 went for the construction of houses, barns, and sheds on the land to be farmed; the houses were to be furnished with stoves, tables, chairs, beds, and bedding; wells were to be dug; fences erected; roads graded; motor ploughs, harvesting engines, and other expensive equipment were to be bought; and granaries for storing the produce 426 were to be built. The remaining $50,000 constituted a loan fund from which farmers might draw for financing the purchase of individual equipment such as mowers and binders. The loan was to be repaid in six years and the money returned to the fund for future loans.

651 Second, the sum remaining from the first auction and sums from subsequent sales were to be set aside as a trust fund. Like other [651] monies belonging to Indian groups, this fund was to be managed by the Department of Indian Affairs. The Blackfoot tribe was to receive annual interest on it, the rate of interest and the method of utilizing the money being subject to the discretion of the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs acting under the direction of the Governor-General of Canada. The Blackfoot have received 5 per cent on their deposited capital.[1]

652 657 The immediate use of the interest money had been planned by Markle in collaboration with various other administrators. Over and above the building and ploughing programme which was already provided for, expenditures were to be for four main purposes: (1) wages for the operators of heavy farm machinery; (2) wages for an instructor to teach and supervise farming; (3) the purchase of blankets, yard goods, and clothing for the aged; (4) rations for each

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[1] All other Canadian Indians also get 5 per cent on their money, except the Six Nations, who receive 6 per cent.

Blackfoot consisting of 7 lb. of beef each week, 5 lb. of flour per week, 652
and 1 lb. of tea per month. Any residuum, after these matters were 657
cared for, might be expended at the discretion of the agent with the usual approval from Ottawa.

The policy was clear, from Markle's viewpoint, that this income was to be spent for agriculture in order to make the Blackfoot self-sufficient, and for such welfare measures as were immediately necessary. There appears to have been no objections to the issue of rations *per se*, as long as they were not being paid for by public funds, and it is unfortunate that we do not know how he regarded such a practice. Elsewhere he was inflexible in seeing no third way; the Indian must be either a pauperized dependent on the public treasury or a self-sufficient yeoman who earned his own living. He did not seem to recognize that with their trust funds the Blackfoot might be neither dependent on a departmental budget nor self-sufficient yeomen. If this were not clear in 1912, it became clear later.

It was probably drift or fortuitous circumstances that developed this third way. Human foresight seems to have been minimal. The effects can be most clearly seen by noting changes in the use of funds over several decades.

The following list aproximates the expenditure of interest money for the fiscal year 1939-40.

Annuities	$ 24,000
Rations	$ 26,000
Medical Care	$ 30,000
Clothing for aged or infirm and furniture for newly-weds	$ 3,000
Equipment issued (e.g. wagons, tents)	$ 10,000
Live stock issued (e.g. horses, cattle)	$ 7,000
Maintenance of roads and buildings	$ 6,000
Wages of white employees	$ 9,000
Total	$115,000[1]

Though we have no comparable budget figures for the early years after the sale of the land, an increase in amount and diversity of expenditure is readily inferred. Wages for farm instructors, and rations and clothing for the aged or infirm are the only identical types of expenditures. All other categories have changed. Wages for the operators of heavy farm machinery were more recently paid by assessment against the returns of the individual farmers. Annuities, medical care, the issuing of equipment and live-stock, are

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[1] From the late Mr. H. E. James, then head clerk at the Blackfoot Agency.

652 innovations. Maintenance we might readily anticipate.[1] However, 657 that this is not the budget of a community of self-sufficient persons is apparent. What follows is an endeavour to account for certain of these changes from the administrative point of view.

651 First, and necessarily for the trend to develop at all, there was a rapid increase, probably not anticipated, of the trust funds. From an initial $300,000 laid aside for the trust fund, the capital increased to well over one million dollars by 1920. The increment came from three sources. Small parcels of land were sold from time to time from the remaining lands, such as a right-of-way for a new irrigation [657] ditch. It is possible for the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to sell small portions of reserve land without the consent of the residing Indians, if it can be shown to be for the general welfare. The second source is from further sales in the surrendered tract. A second auction in 1917 increased the capital by over a million dollars. Subsequent sales and adjustments of this land brought relatively smaller prices 651 but increased the capital constantly by small amounts. Third, there 427 [657] was revenue from the lease of reserve lands. Under the Indian Act, uncultivated lands may be leased by the Superintendent General and the returns added to the trust fund. The majority of these leases occurred during the nineteen-twenties and were in some cases on a cash basis, though mainly on a crop-share basis, the trust fund receiving one quarter of the annual produce. Except for poor years, the majority of these contracts were fulfilled and constituted a steady source of new capital for the trust fund.

657 There was also a change in personnel, not only in Ottawa but at the Blackfoot Agency as well. Markle's time of retirement cut off his energetic influence as overseer of policy, so that whatever stability and clarity of purpose he contributed was lost. J. H. Gooderham, one of the older generation of agents, was succeeded in 1920 by his son, G. H. Gooderham, who was to serve over twenty-five years at this post. While it is certain that father and son shared an interest in social welfare, there was at the same time frequently a difference in outlook between the generations of the Indian Department officials in the West. The generation prior to 1910 had known from first hand the Indian of the buffalo days. Its members were by and large optimistic, vigorous, and influenced by the frontier spirit which granted Indians at least hardiness and stoicism. The task at hand

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[1] A detailed statement of the benefits from the Trust Fund is given in Appendix A.^A

A [See category 652, pp. 189-190--Analyst]

was to civilize these people as quickly as possible. The younger generation, however, having never regarded the Indians as potential 657
foes, tended to consider themselves frequently as welfare workers for the undeveloped children of old warriors. The younger Gooderham was one of the better members of the new crop.

The problem of administering to Indians also grew in complexity. At first "civilizing" was regarded largely as the changing of occupations from hunting to farming or other acceptable jobs. Though 657 177
the Indian agents on the spot had been long disabused of this idea, they looked hopefully to the younger generation of Indians which had never tasted buffalo meat and which had grown up in closer association with whites. Yet by 1920 more than a generation of Indians had passed, and despite the decades of exposure to the obvious benefits of white civilization, the inhabitants of the reserve remained largely Indian in outlook.

There was no official change in policy to meet this newly realized complication. Those who advocated education as the main measure merely urged more schools and better teachers. The welfare workers advocated as their solution more devices to raise the standard of living. The medical officers added that one cannot expect a sick man to learn and proposed to improve health. No change in policy seemed necessary; rather they sought the same remedies but in greater quantity.

As compared with other reserves, the Blackfoot were exceedingly fortunate during the years of G. H. Gooderham's administration. 657
Not only did they have a welfare-minded agent; they also had funds to carry out the policy which directed "more of the same." Other agencies, dependent on appropriations by a parliament concerned 000
with thrift, found their programme curtailed. Though there was in the twenties and thirties an increase in appropriations for the Indian Department, expansion was impossible when Eskimo as well as more Indians came under its jurisdiction. To add to the problem, it was generally assumed that the arm of government dealing with a vanishing race should be asking for less money. Few saw in the census figures, which on the Blackfoot reserve showed small regular gains since the turn of the century, that the Indian problem might become a perennial one.

It was then a natural step for a sympathetic agent with ample funds to provide more of the tools that were necessary for production. So Gooderham supplied the Blackfoot farmer with implements 657 [177]

657 live-stock, additional dwellings, and furniture without cost or obli-
177 gation, in order better to acquaint him with white ways. Such a step
made the loan fund to farmers unnecessary. From this it was no
426 great additional step to replace at tribal expense an out-worn wagon
or a dead work horse and to issue new seed when a crop failed.

It was also natural for a welfare-minded agent to increase old-
657 age benefits so that extra food and clothing could be had. He was
737 well aware that life in the log shacks down by the river was difficult
and that making the last years of these aged people slightly more
comfortable was a small favour under the circumstances. The sick
and convalescing were a comparable problem in that they could
657 not be expected to be productive. Hence in 1923 a modern hospital
743 was built, equipped and staffed with the best that was available.
Every Blackfoot would receive free medical care and special help for
his dependents during the period of his illness. Even productive
657 young people, after living all winter on $100 to $300 from the sale
434 of their produce, might evoke sympathy with their complaint that
they lacked cash to buy needed clothing for their children. So an
annuity was introduced, $6 at first but soon increased to $25, for
every Blackfoot. Those over fifty years of age received $50.

The Blackfoot were eager for these benefits. Though they were
657 critical initially of the health programme, it was gradually accepted.
Indians referred to the trust fund as *their* money, and the council of chiefs was active in finding new uses for the funds in alleviating the needs of their neighbours. The man who had an aging mother, or his neighbour who had lost a few head of cattle in a February blizzard, was certain to have his petition carried to the agent and was exceedingly vexed were it denied. To the Indians it was incomprehensible to have hardships unrecognized when a prodigious sum was coming to them yearly.

Provision of security was no administrative problem. The problem was instead one of making these obvious opportunities for productive effort appear as opportunities to the Indians. There was no ready administrative measure to invoke when a man allowed the house and barn provided by trust funds to fall into disrepair, when another neglected his agency-issued live-stock, when an indolent farmer was so late with his ploughing that the winter wheat could not get a good start before the frost, or when an industrious cattle raiser spent his money for a series of feasts and give-aways so that after Christmas he had nothing to see him through the winter.

It was clear that though these people were not dependents on public charity, they were also far from being the self-sufficient [651] yeomen that Markle had envisaged. In the face of such a problem some indignant administrators retracted the benefits they granted. Gooderham avoided this device and instead worked positively to reward the industrious. Some administrators prescribed more education in order that their charges would realize their errors. But even if Gooderham had wished to follow their suggestions, he could not do so as the school programme was in the hands of the churches. In the main he chose to give the agency greater responsibility for the management of affairs. It would be a long, slow process to teach Indians to recognize their opportunity, and in the meantime valuable property would be protected. More farm instructors were hired to supervise the work. [241] If Indians did not plough and seed properly and carefully, it would be done for them, and the cost charged to their accounts. As individual Indians showed themselves unable to care for their cattle, [231] the remaining head were removed to the herd of the professional stock-man; should any be sold, the account of the owners would be credited with the proper amount less the cost of care. This was Gooderham's answer, and we shall review some of its results in the chapters that follow.

CHAPTER THREE

The Economy

128 SINCE we are as much concerned with welfare as with the structure of an economic system, we have divided our considerations into the following parts: (1) the annual round; (2) sources of income; (3) exchange; (4) distributing mechanisms; (5) expenditures; (6) distribution of wealth and social classes.

657 433 In general the economy is managed by the agent. Acting as his executors are nine white employees who carry on activities varying from book-keeping to directing the sowing of the crops. All but two of the white employees are paid salaries from the trust fund; the exceptions are the senior and junior clerk who, along with the agent, are paid by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Mines and Resources.

657 466 The authority of this white staff in controlling the economy of the reserve is derived not only from the sanctions of Canadian law; it also issues from the hard fact that these men control employment and the rewards of labour which are cash and purchase orders on village stores. The methods of control which they use, however, vary with the type of work and the personalities involved. At the mines where operations are localized, supervision by the mining instructor is relatively easy. The farming instructors, however, who must travel many miles over the reserve, cannot easily remove a man from his farm, and can only issue orders without being able to superintend in person their execution. Within these limits the instructors' actions vary from laissez-faire to authoritative. Their ability to elicit co-operation and their individual prestige depend upon the example of industriousness they themselves set, their tact in giving orders, and the personal warmth they manifest towards the Indians.

Although production is carefully tended by the agent and the 657
white staff, other aspects of the economy are not so closely under 433
thumb. Exchange is controlled in the conversion of wheat and cattle
into cash, but there is some merchandise passing in and out of the [437]
reserve as barter with neighbouring Indians and white settlers which
escapes agency supervision. Moreover, through management of the [434]
Indians' cash accounts the agency partly determines the amount of
cash that an Indian may have; yet the manner of spending lies to a
great extent beyond the agent's control. Thus only in part is this
an agency-controlled system. In general we shall see a white system
of production welded onto a system of distribution in itself a modification of the original indigenous system.

THE ANNUAL ROUND

In buffalo days, the first thunder of spring was joyfully anti- 221
cipated by all as the time when the owners of Medicine Pipes opened 796
the sacred bundles, sang the songs of the thunder bird, and distributed tobacco to all the camp. These ceremonies continue today,
but only the older people look forward to them with eagerness. The 221
younger ones are eager for a different reason. In April now annuities 434
from the Blackfoot trust fund are paid. The children are released
from school for the day. The Indians who have waited for months
flock to towns nearby to buy clothing, groceries, and household
articles. Quite a number, seeking variety and better bargains, board [484]
the train to Calgary where in small groups they stroll through the
stores of the business district or rest on the wooden benches of
Chinese restaurants.

A few days later all are back on the reserve, and the spring enter- 221
prises begin. Every Indian team of horses and every tractor from
the farm instructors' sheds is busy with ploughing and seeding. The [241]
frame houses near the cultivated fields bulge with relatives who [602]
have come to help. Calves are driven from their winter corrals to [233]
join the main herd started on its way to summer pasture lands.

Meanwhile the old people have convened to a secluded site for 221
the Tobacco Dance, and are singing the opening songs of the Beaver
Bundles. On a gala day about a week later Indians from all over the 796
reserve come to watch gleefully, while, for instance, the man with
buffalo-hoof rattle dances clownishly around the circle. A few listen

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

Agriculture. When farms were first created on the reserve in 241
1910, anyone could apply for a plot of land. Though farms were
plentiful and available to all, in practice they were given to those 657
persons who applied first and who, in the agency's judgment, had 425
a sufficient reputation for industry. In time most men wanted to
try their hand, though many refused to give up the live-stock raising 241
and haying to which they had grown accustomed. Some tried wheat
farming, failed, and abandoned their farms. The more persistent continued. In 1939, 121 individuals cultivated land, but this is a smaller figure than would have been found a decade earlier. On the reserve one sees areas of unused land with abandoned houses, their windows boarded and fences broken. Yet there is a waiting list of young men who wish farms. There has been no tractoring out nor monopolization of the land. The fact is that good land is scarce, land where there is little hail, where the soil does not blow, and where the earth is relatively rich. People have learned that pluck alone cannot produce a crop. Rather than farm anywhere many young men prefer to wait for good land. In 1939, 11,705 acres were under cultivation, the average acreage per man being 96.7 with a range of from 20 to 276.

Legally there is no individual ownership of farms. Title to the 423
land is based on use; when a farmer quits his farm, title reverts
theoretically to the tribe, and the agent reassigns the farm. A complicating
factor enters, however, when a man wills his land to a 423
relative. Sometimes, indeed, these wills are written in the presence 425
of the agent. Other transfers are purely verbal; an old man may give 428
his son the house and land, remain living there for six months to see
that the son and his wife understand how to run the place, and then
move with the old people down near the river. Such nominal ownership 423
is reinforced by another Indian practice: at death, land should 425
be passed to a male descendant. The agent, working on the assumption [428]
of title through use, has offered acreages to Indians who have
refused to accept the land. The Indians maintained that the tract belonged to another, even though the latter might not have cultivated the land for several years and might have abandoned the house.

The management of the farms rests with four farm instructors 657
who receive a salary of $1,200 to $1,500 per year plus certain perquisites,
paid from the trust fund. These men recommend the kind 241
of crop and the acreage to be sown. They determine when spring ploughing and seeding shall begin. They lay out the work for the farmer, and from time to time pass by to ascertain its progress. At

657 the end of the season they recommend whether or not to harvest the
241 crop, count the bushels, and notify the book-keeper at the agency
how much each Indian has made.

[231] To carry out the instructions, each farmer must have four work
horses with harness, a plough, seeder, cultivator, and binder. In
[407] 1941 four horses, bought with trust money, were given to each
new farmer, but the remainder of the equipment had either to be
657 purchased at a cost of about $350 or borrowed directly from the farm
instructor. The machinery available for loan has been purchased
241 with trust funds. Recently it has been possible to have one's field
407 ploughed with a tractor at a cost of $1 per acre. Because of the
426 expense most farmers prefer to do their own work if they have the
equipment. Furthermore, borrowing machines from the farm instructor is inconvenient, since one may have to wait several weeks until an implement is available. With threshing machines, of which there are three on the reserve, there was a case where an individual had to wait two and one half months before threshing his crop.

657 Cash from the sale of grain is obtainable when the agency has
received or disposed of the crop. The agent usually sells the crop
434 immediately in order that the Indians may have their money as soon
442 as possible. Also there is no longer a central storage facility on the
reserve for large amounts of grain. The individual farmer is given credit for the number of bushels sold. From the market price is deducted a sum varying from 6 to 10 cents per bushel to cover the expense of threshing. The residual money may then be drawn by the farmer in small sums according to the credit due him in the books at the agency.

241 With these features of agricultural production in mind we may
turn back to review briefly the course of change. At its inception
241 many had high hopes. The dramatic introduction of farming as a
means to a good living like the whites is apparent when we look at
177 the avidity with which many entered into it. Though all may not
511 have carried it to this extent, the following case (*circa* 1916) from
our field-notes illustrates this motivation:

> [657] Sleigh started farming and did his best. The agency gave him a team and harness. This was all the agency did for him, and this much was done for everyone. He put in a big crop and had good returns the first year. There were seven teams of horses working on his farm every day in the year. He had eight sets of harness, seven of his own purchase. From that first crop [150 bushels] he bought a binder, seeder, plough and a democrat. Winter came. The next year he put in a crop and had good returns again [150 bushels]. Then he bought a wagon, sleigh and a cutter. He also bought a hay rake and a heavy saddle. He

**built a big shed to house all these things, and he was told that this was for all 241
his implements. When he was through with a machine he stored it in his shed.
He also had a home and bought all the furniture and clothing for his wife and 177
children. The agent would put all the money in three piles on pay day. He 511
put the $300 in one pile to take then. He put $150 in another pile to have at
Christmas time. He put $400 in another pile for spring. This was after all [657]
the bills were paid. On the farm then Sleigh might be short of some such things
as sweatpads for the horses or sugar. He would write an order and send a boy
to any store in Gleichen. The boy took the note, and the storekeeper would
send the goods to him. This was in the spring when they could not go to town.
Later he would drive into the store and pay the bills.**

Sleigh had everything and this made him feel good. At meal times he would have the table set, look at the food, and all would look fine. Then Sleigh thought he would do his best to keep his life that way all the time. At haying time he went to camp in the prairies and cut hay every day. He made two big stacks for the horses. He had a few cattle also. After haying, Sleigh went back to the farm, and the crop was ripe for cutting and binding. There was threshing, and the granaries were full. The rest he kept in his barn. Winter came, and he hauled hay to the barn to keep the horses fat all winter. He went to the white neighbors across the railroad tracks and saw new implements which he bought. He went into one barn and saw brushes and curry combs for the horses. He bought these and started feeding the horses oats; he had four horse blankets hanging in the barn. When it was cold, one horse might not feel like eating, and he put a blanket on the horse to make it eat better. Four horses might be used in the winter for going to town. He shod three of them. If horses are treated well, they will not have to be whipped but will do the work in a lively way.

Sleigh was at work every morning at seven. The agent went around early and felt pleased to see him working.

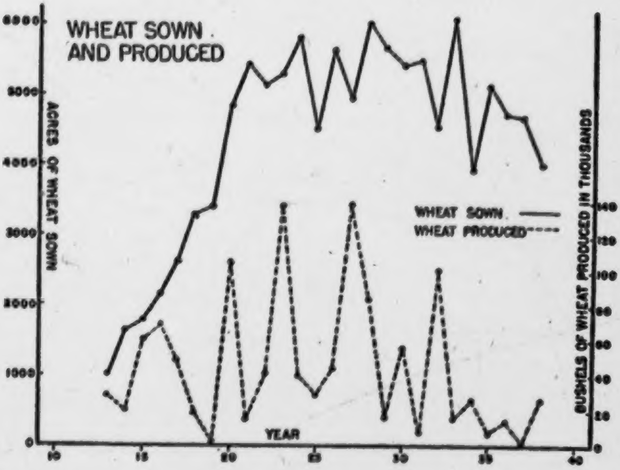
Sleigh always said, "Good morning" to the agent and "takes every word from him" (the expression used when a dutiful son heeds his father's injunctions). If he had jobs to do, he did them first before going to the Sun Dance. He did not have to worry about clothing or groceries, for he kept right on working. But when the work was done, he took out his tipi and lived at the Sun Dance like an Indian. He did his best both in farming and in the Indian way.

While some of the statistical material offered by the informant may be doubted, the picture in general seems accurate for the time. With wartime prices almost any amount of wheat raised could produce an income gratifying to Indians.

The story of the agricultural venture on the reserve may be seen 241
graphically in Table III, where wheat sown is shown on one curve,
wheat produced on the other. Acreage under cultivation as well as 433
the number of farmers increased during the early twenties. But 178
right at that time prices and returns began to sink. In the next ten
years, though there was roughly constant acreage, only three good
crops occurred. At first all continued doggedly to farm. But drought
would burn the crop brown; hail and wind flatten the nearly ripened

241 433 178 plants; hot sun after a soaking rain mature the stalk but not the grain. In 1928 there was a good crop that spurred the farmers for another year, but the following years brought almost less than ever before and even that diminished. Farming was no longer the expected "open sesame"; people were discouraged, abandoned their fields, and moved back to the less affluent friendliness of the river community.

TABLE III



● 657 241 For whites, busy each hour of the day making a living, to be idle is to become demoralized. The agency feared idle Indians would react the same way. The agent sent the farmers back to the farms. He was not so much interested in production as the prevention of idleness; better be unproductively active than idle. First the farm instructors cajoled the Indians to return to the land. Though some might submit for one year, they would not go through the motions of farming every year just to please the farm instructor or the agent. By 1938, the agency paid from the trust funds to have the Indians work. Two dollars per acre were paid a man to plough his own land and another two dollars to seed it. If after the effort there were a

crop, the farmer could make a little more by selling it. This induced
some to continue through the grim thirties. Those who did were 657
further puzzled in 1941 during the wheat-glut of the first years of 241
World War II when, having long been paid to work their farms, they
were paid $4 per acre for not ploughing the land. The white man's
ways were totally irrational.

Agriculture could not continue in this way. Something had to be done to increase the chances of a crop and provide a reward for a season's toil. Accordingly, an experimental project of small, intensively cultivated, irrigated plots was started in 1940. Eight young farmers, selected because of their industriousness, were paid $5 per week for groceries while they cultivated their plots under the guidance of a farm instructor. The first year they had crops which brought several hundred dollars to each farmer. Some felt that it was worth-while and were eager to continue. This is probably one answer to agricultural stability on the reserve.

It should be noted that these have been hard years for white 171
farmers too. But the much larger farming units (400 acres and up-
wards as compared with the usual seeding of 40 acres of wheat for 241
the Indians), more efficient mechanization and some use of irrigation,
more flexible financing techniques, and most of all the watchful care
of a man who has farming "in his blood" result in greater returns
for the white farmer. It is possible that some of the Blackfoot land 134
is properly marginal and should be withdrawn from cultivation at
present. Like other areas in Alberta, some strips are blowing and
eroding. Certainly the Indians all claim that "the best land was sold
in 1911," though they may only perceive the results of skilful farm-
ing. In any case the reserve lies squarely in the middle of a belt 241
subject to cataclysmic hail-storms. Whites so situated suffer too,
but the larger acreages are not so frequently entirely hailed out. 132
Many whites are also protected by hail insurance. Since these rates [456]
are exceedingly high, no Indian carries this coverage.

Without irrigation, agriculture cannot be expected to produce 241
a steady income for the Indians. Although agriculture has increased
the income of the Blackfoot more than any other single factor, no 433
man will work long and vigorously with a five-to-one chance of
failure unless the return compensates. While war prices have raised
the reward, uncertainty makes dry farming of questionable value as
the main economic peg. To have a prosperous, contented community
requires more than a few hundred dollars every fifth year.

233 *Beef Cattle.* Although cattle have been present on the reserve since the nineties, the major development in stock raising has occured through the trust fund. By this means the quality of the herd has been improved, and stock-raising has become a stable source of income.

There were in 1939 about 3,000 head of prime beef cattle owned
by 114 Indians; the average-sized herd was 26.3, with a range from
1 to 185. Though the first owners had to buy their cattle, most
425 owners today have been given their cattle free. The stock was purchased
231 with trust funds and given out by the agency to the industrious
and the needy. Some have inherited their cattle from relatives.
657 Rarely are cattle acquired by direct transfer of ownership from
one Indian to another. This is the result of agency policy which
231 discourages sale or transfer of cattle except at time of death. Though
cases of rejection of cattle occur, the majority of Indians have become
mindful of their cash benefits. Yet no one considers the beasts
to be intrinsically valuable in contrast to the highly cherished horse.

Originally, cattle were handled entirely by their owners. This
233 meant branding the young stock in the spring, gathering hay in the
657 summer, and feeding the calves in the winter. Later, arrangements
were made so that, should this task be impracticable, the stock-man
or some other Indian did the work for a small fee. This became rather common in the twenties, though many Indians still preferred to look after their own stock. In the dry thirties the poor hay crop made it difficult to obtain winter fodder. Most Indians, unable to provide sufficient feed from wild hay and without cash to purchase extra fodder, put the problem in the hands of the stock-men. The agency, tired of providing extra fodder and impatient with the sight of emaciated stock, decided to handle all the cattle. Today only one man cares for his own cattle. Most Indians do not see the cattle from one year to the next. By paying $12 to $15 at the time of the sale of a steer, one provides for the wintering of a single calf. Another $2 to $3 pays for roundup, branding the young, moving the herd, and whatever other servicing is required. The resulting cattle fund is then administered by the stock-man who hires Indians at rates varying from $30 to $45 per month to perform the necessary tasks and sees to the purchase of hay for the calves.

Table IV shows the size of the beef herd and the total income
233 from beef on the reserve since 1907. This income has fluctuated with
434 the size of the herd and the price of beef, but in general it has in-
178

233 [434] bought by the stock-man to be butchered for rations at $25, and that there has been one calf to winter, then one might expect about $10 after deducting the servicing and wintering charges.

233 657 Despite increased income through more skilful care, the communal handling of the herd is not an unequivocal advantage. At least two disadvantages appear. With many calves together in winter, the weaker ones are at a disadvantage. Being weak, they will not fatten without special care which can only be given to smaller groups. Another disadvantage is the improbability that an individual's income from cattle will increase. This is because the size of the total herd is nearly constant. In fact, because of the method of wintering calves and the possibility that no females are produced, the owner of a small number is more likely to lose all his stock than to increase his herd. Were he to care for the stock himself, he would know the actual conditions and might try to increase and improve his small herd. From this point of view those who own large herds benefit most from the present arrangement. Several Indians reported that they had cattle, yet had received nothing from them during the past few years: one inference is that their animals are dead. In addition many Indians do not know when or whether they will receive income from their herd, for they are never consulted about their care. If one of the cattle is sold, they are merely notified of the event by the agency. Thus, particularly for small owners unable to anticipate the sale of their beef, the credit at the agency is like the unexpected appearance of a treasure ship and becomes an occasion for celebration. It is scarcely ever possible for anyone, even a large owner, to order one of his cattle killed, so as to obtain ready cash. Not to have this control over his own property is very annoying, and embarrasses a man when he wishes to contribute to or put up
[434] some ceremony. The agency is fully aware of the pressures put upon an individual known to have cattle, of the way the money is spent, i.e. for a feast and give-away, rather than for milk or clothing for the children, and is apt to consider these expenditures profligate. Its firm stand is, of course, motivated by the conviction that it is acting in the best long-term interests of the Indian and of the cattle herd as a whole.

233 Aside from income to the owners of cattle and income to those employed in servicing the cattle, a secondary industry has resulted from the demand for hay to winter the calves. The fees deducted for servicing and wintering go mainly for the purchase of feed.

Today in August nearly every able-bodied man turns out to cut 233
the wild range grass and haul it to the stock-farm. Even in years
of drought when fodder is scarce, the Indians are employed hauling 314
hay purchased from farmers nearby. Thus every year the Indians 464
benefit to some extent by haying or hauling.

The exact income to the Indians from haying is difficult to 434
estimate, largely because of variation in growing conditions from
year to year. Let us consider optimum conditions. There is a 314
standing price of $5 per ton for wild hay brought to the stock-farm.
The reserve produces in good years 1,200 tons, a quantity about 435
sufficient for wintering the calves. Assuming that this is used only
for the Blackfoot herd and is bought at the usual price by the 434
stock-man, the total income from haying is about $6,000. This may
decrease to $2,400 in years when there is no hay and only hauling
from white farms is to be done. In this case Indians receive $2 per
ton delivered at the stock-farm.

We have no statistics on the individual income from this source. Using a series of incomes from the year 1940-1[1] gathered from seven Indians, six of the seven derived some cash therefrom. The average cash from haying was $26, maximum $80, minimum $12. This source of income is generally considered to be a means of obtaining money during the time before harvest.

In general we see that the trust fund has provided a steady and 434
fairly reliable source of income for the Indians from cattle. By fur-
nishing a number of cash-paying jobs, more than the owners are 657
benefitted. The return from this source has been increased further
by improving the quality of the stock. It should also not be forgotten that the Indians derive double benefit from their cattle: they are paid by weight for a beef killed and they receive a part of the meat at the regular Thursday issue of rations.

Wages. We have arbitrarily divided our consideration of wages 128
into three headings: (1) wages from work off the reserve, (2) wages
from permanent jobs on the reserve, (3) wages from temporary jobs
on the reserve.

(1) Jobs off the reserve. In 1940 this was relatively unimportant 434
as a source of income for the Indians. Their total income from wages
from all sources is estimated by the agency and varies from year to 465
year. The figures given from 1918 to 1938 run from a minimum of
about $2,000 to a maximum of $6,000. The trust fund pays out

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[1] Cf. Appendix B.^A

A [See category 434, pp. 191-194--Analyst]

434 465 directly $2,000 per year to Indians on the reserve in wages for various services to be described subsequently. As this amount varies little, we may assume the difference between $2,000 and the total sum estimated constitutes the approximate amount earned by Indians while working off the reserve. By this calculation we estimate that Indians earn off the reserve sums varying from zero to $4,000. This wide fluctuation is a product of such factors as the demand for workers during good agricultural years and the satisfaction of Indians with the income which they earn on the reserve.

As a rule Indians hire out to whites to assist at roundup or in threshing. The pay varies from $1 to $4 per day, and some are eager to earn this extra money. Aside from such semi-skilled services, Indian labour is used relatively little off the reserve in normal times. Among the seven incomes from 1940-1[1] only one man worked off the reserve; he made $20 during harvest time as a field hand.

464 Since the advent of the trust fund, Indians have tended to seek employment only on the reserve. This has been reinforced by the agency policy of discouraging such activities as haying off the reserve. Pressure has undoubtedly been exerted by prejudiced whites who refuse to compete with or hire "lazy Indians whom we support by taxes anyway." In the summer of 1941 because of the war-time demand for workers, Indians were more frequently induced to leave the reserve to obtain work, e.g., in a sugar-beet processing plant. Because of high pay for labour off the reserve, there was an increasing discontent with reserve wage scales, which may swing the trend again towards finding more work off the reserve. In periods of general unemployment there are practically no off-reserve jobs for Indians available.

463 465 (2) Permanent jobs on the reserve. The following is a list of the permanent Indian jobs on the reserve, with approximate monthly salary schedule for each.

●657

1	Interpreter	$60
2	Scouts for Mounted Police	$30
6	Assistant stock-men	$35
3	Semi-permanent miners (paid 30c per hour)	$35
1	Clerk for mines	$60 (5 months only)
1	Hospital assistant	$30

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[1] *Ibid.*

A yearly total of $5,880 is paid fourteen Indians for these permanent
jobs. The wages for the interpreters and the scouts for the Mounted 463
Police are paid by the Dominion government. The assistant stock- 465
men are paid with funds from the sale of beef. Those connected
with the mines are paid from the operating revenue of the mines. 657
The hospital worker alone is paid directly from the trust fund as
part of the operating cost of the hospital.

These jobs[A] are filled by application to the person under whose
jurisdiction the job falls, e.g., the white stock-man or, at the mines, 466
the Indian "room-boss." With the exception of the hospital assistant 657
these jobs do not require work six days of the week. At the stock-farm, for instance, a man wishing to leave for a few days may give his job to another. This is used as an argument by whites to show that the Indians are lackadaisical. However, the fact that these jobs are seldom open, and that seven of these jobs have been filled by the same Indian for over five years suggests the contrary. Some Indians do work constantly at certain jobs.

(3) Temporary jobs on the reserve are of two kinds: those han-
dled by the agency or the white employees and those directed by 464
the Indians themselves. 657

Temporary jobs handled by the agency or the white employees
are filled by application to or at the request of the director involved. 466
They depend on the season and the exigencies of the moment. They 657
may involve greasing a tractor, painting a building (a man is even [463]
paid for painting his own house), mending a road, cleaning a corral
or a well, or stopping leaks in a roof. No doubt individual competence and industriousness play a part in securing these jobs. The farm instructor who knows that an Indian is careful and efficient in his work is more apt to employ him than one who is less reliable. Availability is another factor. A man who lived near the stock corral said he never was without a job when he wished one, as the stockman always came to him first when in need of help. The agent, too, occasionally gives a needy Indian a note addressed to a particular white employee asking that he be employed. Consistent with this policy of giving jobs to the needy, some Indians with considerable cash in their accounts at the agency are not employed at the agency-
controlled jobs. The agency allocates approximately $7,000 as wages 652
to Indians for temporary jobs. This sum comes from a variety of
sources such as deduction from the income from cattle or grain as 651
well as from interest on trust funds.

[A] [i.e., permanent jobs on the reserve--Analyst]

particular owner. To possess a large herd of horses is today still a sign 231
of opulence. In 1939 there were 1,650 head of horses owned by 154
Indians. These horses may be divided into two categories: (1) Draft [556]
horses which are bought by the agency with trust funds and given
out to farmers and old people. These have no commercial value in [657]
themselves because they are restricted from sale or change of title [425]
by agency regulations. (2) Horses which have been purchased by
an Indian or given to him independently of the agency. These consist mostly of light, unbroken horses which have been acquired
probably through the intra- or inter-reserve system of horse trading
and gift-giving. An Indian is free to handle these animals as he
wishes.

Eleven Indians are raising horses on a more or less major scale 233
for commercial sale. The range mares are bred with blooded stallions, the colts allowed to run wild for two years, and then broken
to saddle or harness. Such horses usually bring at least $50 each. [435]
With a 25 per cent annual increase in the herd and a herd of 50, a
man could expect a minimum gross income of about $600. Fre- [434]
quently these horses bring more than $50. The income from horses [435]
has been about $5,000 per annum during the past few years, so that
at present these eleven Indians have a fairly substantial business. [434]
There is a considerable potential industry here, if the reserve could
supply its own work horses, unless draft horses were supplanted by
tractors. In 1939, $1,000 was spent buying horses from three of
these raisers for the use of the farmers. This trend has been encouraged by the purchase of blooded stallions with trust funds in an
effort to increase the market price of reserve horses. The limits of
this type of enterprise are set in part by the available pasture; yet
there is a genuine interest here, for the raisers themselves are eager
for fine stock. They have been known to pay a white man several
hundred dollars for a good horse, part thoroughbred, with a special
eye, however, to its racing capacities.

Old range animals are also sold for $10 to $20 to farms near by as [435]
meat for foxes. A few young men are good riders and have made
several hundred dollars by bronco riding at neighbouring stampedes 541
and rodeos. The latter is a popular, though not very lucrative, 434
occupation.

(3) *Miscellaneous sources of income.* One of the few remaining 793
sources of income for the Blackfoot which continues from buffalo
days as a portion of the indigenous cultural fabric is the fee to the 434
functionary who directs religious ceremonials. This may well be

434 of as modal points along a continuum. All earn wages, but the propertyless individuals are those deriving the greatest fraction of their income from this source. All have aspiration levels, but the energetic earners may be inferred to have higher ones.

EXCHANGE

657 437 The agency is the main artery for conversion of the reserve produce into cash. On the sale of a man's wheat his account is credited with the corresponding price. Similarly, when a steer is sold, the owner, determined by the animal's brand mark, is credited with the price received for the animal, less certain processing fees. Thus conversion of most reserve produce, whether it be horses or furs, passes through the agency.

The agency also converts various local vouchers into cash. Work slips, statements signed by a white staff member, entitle the bearer who has repaired a fence or worked two weeks on the roundup to a given sum of money. Merchandise orders are also given out to families caught short, so the white merchants come in for reimbursement. On the receipt of further cash these sums advanced will be deducted from the account of the Indian concerned, unless he is convalescent or in some other way unfitted for work.

657 [452] [426] The banking functions of the agency stop at this point. For example, beyond the advancing of credit in the form of merchandise orders, no credit is given. Loans are no longer made to individual Indians, nor does the agency directly finance with Indian funds individual undertakings. 657 422 To be sure the agency purchases with trust funds farm machinery, stallions, and lumber for Indian undertakings, and for all practical purposes these may become the property of an individual. Yet things acquired in this way are not paid for by the individual and do not become his property in the sense that he is free to dispose of them.

657 454 There is an obvious scarcity of cash on the reserve despite these exchange mechanisms. The individual accounts at the agency have been many times quickly emptied after pay-day. So, to encourage saving, the agency discourages withdrawal of more than a fraction of the total money in an account at any single time. Perhaps introduced in part with the same intention is the agency practice of paying from the accounts only on certain days of the week. It is a notorious source of friction that an Indian may come many miles

to the agency to withdraw money from his account and be denied 657
his full request by a paymaster who is interested in thrift. Complaints
are common that there is money in the office, but it cannot 454
be paid out until a future date. Our interpreters and informants frequently
spent the day's earnings within a few minutes after payment
had been made. But some Indians who worked for prolonged periods
with us asked that they be paid in a lump sum at the end of the week
to prevent their spending the fees immediately.

Accentuating the demand for cash is the fact that few Indians
can buy at village stores on credit. Merchants maintain that they 443
have in the past been forced to write hundreds of dollars of debts
off their books because of the failure of Indians to pay their bills.
Thus credit is issued only to the occasional Indian who has proved
himself. Furthermore, whites generally acknowledge that two prices 435
exist in many stores, one for whites and a slightly higher one for
Indians. The practice is justified on the grounds that the storekeeper
is recouping his previous losses.

The agency's interest in budgetary saving aggravates the demand
for money. Less is paid for beef if it is bought on the reserve for 657
rations than if purchased from commercial beef handlers. Horses 435
and hay are purchased from the Indians at figures somewhat below
the prevailing white prices. We have also mentioned that the wage
scale on the reserve is lower than the wage scale for white labour.
To be sure there are a few cases where the agency pays higher prices
than the prevailing rate; it is possible, for example, to have coal
hauled by truck to the agency at $1.50 per ton, yet the agent pays
Indians $2.00 per ton to haul it in their wagons. In general, however,
the agency pays less when dealing with Indians than when dealing
with whites for the same service or commodity.

To obtain money at times of need Indians resort to two main
expedients: sale of various articles, and seeking cash from certain 434
relatives.

We have entered occasional Indian homes which have lacked 511
almost all furnishings except for a bed, a few chairs, a table, and a
stove. Only some of these houses belong to old people who wish
little. Frequently ambitious young men have a history of poor luck 434
in farming and report that their houses were once much better furnished;
when times were hard, they were forced to sell their furniture 432
piece by piece to get cash. The less valuable objects may be purchased
by some family on the reserve. The remainder is sold to pawn

objects that circulate, and this places the Blackfoot at a disad- 431
vantage when dealing with Indians from other reserves where a
relatively larger portion of the wealth is exchangeable. Hence on 439
reserves with broader ranges of income wealthy Indians may out- [438]
display the reputedly wealthy Blackfoot. To save face, the latter
use part of their precious cash for inter-reserve gifts. Hence the
Blackfoot are fundamentally dependent on currency to supply not
only the demands of whites but also the demands of outside Indians.

DISTRIBUTING MECHANISMS

The present distributing mechanisms on the reserve may be 42
divided into two groups: (1) those mechanisms introduced by the
agency associated chiefly with production on the reserve; (2) those 43
which are retained, though perhaps in a modified form, from the 177
social fabric of pre-reserve days. 657

Most of the productive system introduced by the agency also
acts as a distributive system furnishing to some extent jobs for 42
persons not directly engaged in production. The various deductions
from the sale of commodities, for threshing grain or for wintering 43
calves, and the portion of the mine income devoted to maintenance 657
provide additional jobs of a service category. Similarly the hay 464
collected is paid for out of the gross receipts of cattle owners and
goes to the harvesters or transporters. In this sense the agency 42
hospital, the police system, and the numerous other activities in
which Indians are employed for varying periods, constitute a por- 43
tion of the distributive system. 657

A system of distribution for which the trust fund is indirectly
responsible is the transfer of certain kinds of property at death. It 657
will be recalled that there are two kinds of property: (1) work horses, 428
wagons, land, houses, and cattle which are non-exchangeable; (2)
other objects which may be disposed of without limitations, i.e., 421
range horses, furniture, sacred bundles, and most things that have
not been purchased at trust expense. Farm implements, if purchased
by one's own funds, may or may not be considered as disposable
property, depending on whether the agent feels that the transfer
would affect the general welfare of the reserve. Certainly should this
disposal bring disuse, it would be forbidden by the agent.

To guard against the uncontrolled transfer of property at death 657
the agent has encouraged written wills. The Indians themselves had
a kind of will wherein a dying man bequeathed his property in the 428

● 657 presence of certain witnesses. Today the agent encourages the
428 making of wills in his presence while a man is still in sound health;
this document is then filed at the agency until the testator's death.[1]
Thereby property acquired through trust funds may change hands, e.g., work horses, wagons, etc. These distributing mechanisms have been introduced to the reserve by whites and are for the most part foreign to the culture.

571 Fundamental to the Blackfoot distributing system is one central
431 concept which appears in some form in many institutions. It is the
Plains concept of the virtue of generosity. To most Blackfoot Indians
556 wealth is not so important in terms of accumulation of property as
for the prestige and security that can be acquired by giving it away.
571 Many Indians of prominence appear to lack the symbols of wealth
431 that we find necessary, e.g., good furniture, new clothes, many
horses, etc. They may not be wealthy in terms of property possessed, but they are wealthy in terms of the prestige acquired from having given away their property. However, unlike the potlatches of the north-west coast, the Blackfoot emphasize not a single large demonstration of generosity but a continuous show of it. This means that one must be sagacious and resourceful in handling affairs so that one can give away much but still have enough to continue the show. The criticism and self-criticism of many formerly wealthy Indians was not that they were not generous but that they were unable to continue the generosity. This feature is basic to an understanding of Blackfoot economic distributing systems.

434 In our discussion of income we mentioned certain Indian entre-
preneurs[2] who make comfortable livings mainly through the sale of
[465] horses. Such persons also manage a system of distribution. They
must have men to care for the herd, and these "hired" men are
provided with food, clothing, and shelter in return for their services.
431 Also, however, the indigent members of the young men's families
are cared for by the entrepreneurs, and it is here that the concept
466 of generosity becomes important. These needy people constitute a
571 market for generosity. The greater the entrepreneur's income the
greater the generosity he can show and the larger the number of persons who are eager for it.

[621] Boy Chief's establishment exemplified such a system. Although
[177] he had a few cattle, his main cash income derived from the horses

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[434] [1] It is uncertain whether a copy of the will must be forwarded to Ottawa. Since valuable property is presumably held by the band, probating by the Departmental Solicitor may not be necessary on the Blackfoot reserve.

[2] Cf. pp. 72-73; 77.

294 agency and resold to the Indians. Women buy yard goods to make their dresses. Buckskin dancing outfits, made from purchased skins and beads, are owned only by wealthier individuals. It is not surprising that 16 per cent of the income goes for this type of article. Some saving could be effected for household goods as well as clothing if Indians were able to buy merchandise of better quality. As it is, they must buy only the least durable.

434 The individual variation depends on size of income, number of dependents, and extent of social participation. Among the poorer people with dependents as much as 80 per cent of the income goes directly to whites for merchandise and services. These people tend to curtail their expenditures for gifts, travel, entertainment, and tribal functions. To spend money on tribal functions usually means that one is oneself an elder in a functioning age-group or religious society or one has kinsmen who are members. Bachelors with few dependents and even with small incomes, tend to spend a larger share on travel, gifts, and entertainment. In this respect they are like wealthier persons with dependents who may spend only about 50 per cent of their incomes on necessities, while a greater proportion goes through intra-reserve channels to Indians.

Distribution of Wealth and Social Classes

162 Of the 800 people on the Blackfoot reserve in 1939 there were 222 males over eighteen, the age when, having finished their schooling, they are expected to begin earning their own living. Of these males about 30 were not married and had no families to support; they were supported in part by their parents or their brothers. This leaves roughly 190 men who must support their families and other dependents. Females eighteen years or over numbered about 185. [582] The preferred practice is to marry girls as soon as they leave school. [562] Thus women are cared for in the family unit by husbands, parents, or brothers; widows commonly return to the houses of their brothers or their sisters and hence need not be considered separately.

434 657 Through the agency a portion of the reserve income goes to all Blackfoot or to all members of limited classes of Blackfoot, such as the aged. For all individuals this income includes rations and annuities. Between the ages of seven and eighteen all children receive from one of the two boarding-schools an elementary education, board, and keep. All persons over fifty receive additional annuities,

additional rations, and clothing. As this type of income is distributed 434
to all by virtue of membership in the reserve, depending on age or
other qualifications, there exists no problem of distribution of this 657
kind of wealth.

Above this basic level, however, wealth varies with many factors.
We have four indices of this wealth: distribution of land under 434
cultivation, distribution of horses, distribution of cattle, distribution [128]
of cash income from cattle. Our statistics have been gathered by the
agency for the year 1939.

TABLE VI 434

Distribution of Land under Cultivation 241

Number of acres cultivated	*Number of owners*
0–25	2
25–50	18
50–75	28
75–100	28
100–150	27
150–200	10
200–250	7
250–300	1
Total	121 owners
Median	86.6 acres
Average	96.7 acres

Table VI shows the distribution of land under cultivation. This property is found among 121 of the 190 family units. Though the farms are small for southern Alberta when compared with the whites', forty acres in crop, forty to lie fallow, are deemed sufficient by the agency for most Indians. When skill in agriculture is demonstrated more land may be granted. [425]

Table VII gives the distribution of horses on the reserve. 434
Seventy-one per cent of the family heads have at least one horse.
It will be recalled that these horses are of two kinds: draft horses, 231
usually purchased by the agency for farmers and old people in need [657]
of transportation; and unbroken range horses which have been
variously acquired, valuable in the intra-reserve system of exchange
as gifts, and with potential commercial value if broken. Approximately one-third of the total are draft animals, owned by 122

434 Indians; only fifteen Indians or 12 per cent of the total owners own more than six work horses. The other two-thirds of the herd are range
231 animals, owned by 94 individuals of whom 35, or 37 per cent of the total owners, own more than six. Thus we see that those with large private herds are usually owners of range horses. The work animals are relatively evenly allocated by the agency to those who need them.

TABLE VII

Distribution of Horses

Number of horses	*Number of owners*
1–5	83
5–10	31
10–15	18
15–20	5
20–25	4
25–30	1
30–35	2
35–40	2
40–45	1
45–50	
50–55	2
55–60	1
60–65	
65–70	1
70–75	1
75–80	1
115–120	1
155–160	1

Total	154 owners
Median	3.7 horses
Average	10.7 horses

The distribution of cattle is represented in Table VIII, where 114, or 60 per cent of 190 heads of families, have potential income
[657] from cattle. These beasts have, for the most part, been given gratis by the agency. The policy has been to give cattle to successful heads of families as rewards, and to the old or halt who are unable to work. The skew of the distribution is the result of inheritance of large herds and of personal industriousness when they were individually cared for.

CHAPTER FOUR

Some Social Effects of the Economy

IN THE preceding chapter we presented a detailed picture of the 128
workings of the reserve economy. Here, standing back a step to
gain perspective, we consider certain direct effects of this economy
on the social life of the reserve, first descriptively and then from the
viewpoint of welfare.

TRENDS IN THE ECONOMY

The trust funds, under agency management, made possible the 433
introduction of white technology to the Blackfoot. In addition,
there have been certain effects which we may summarize as follows: 177
(1) the Indian has been reduced to the status of worker in an agency- 657
managed enterprise; (2) the Blackfoot system of distribution within
the tribe has been displaced or transformed; (3) the population has
been forced to turn to the white economy for satisfaction of certain
needs. This section is devoted to presenting the basis for these
propositions.

(1) We have observed that the trust fund was initially conceived 657
as a device for assisting individual Indians to become independent
workers.[1] Because the agency saw a gradually increasing need for
supervision, it assumed a greater managerial role. The sum initially [426]
set aside as a loan fund for farmers was never used. Through care-
lessness, inefficiency, and lack of foresight, these farmers lost their 657
autonomy as producers. The same trend was noted with respect to 433
beef production and coal mining. In time other activities came into [241]
the hands of the agency. Though dry wheat farming could not be [233]
centralized under the existing distribution of cultivated fields, the
irrigation project of 1941 with a farm instructor present at all times [316]
continued the trend. Where unified operation was not possible, [241]

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[1] Cf. pp. 42, 49.

657 unified control began. The farmer was handed his seed grain and
433 was paid by the agency to plough and sow his land. The cash re-
turns were doled out at the discretion of the agency. Similar control
[241] was extended to haying and trapping operations. The agency con-
trols almost every job for cash wages, to say nothing of the all-
[464] important periodic issues of farm equipment, horses, clothing, and
food.

During the eighties and nineties of the preceding century, gar-
657 dening, haying, and cattle raising were carried out under the direc-
466 tion of an Indian head-man who supervised the requisite operations,
disposed of the product, and paid his men partly in welfare benefits
464 and services. But today each Indian is an individual worker for the agency. The bargaining position of the head-man and his gang is gone. The operation is fixed; the disposal of the product is out of the hands of the worker; and the returns from his labour bring in cash only. He is paid to work his own land and maintain his own house. There remains only the option of accepting the opportunity to work, or chancing agency disapproval and subsisting on rations.

657 Except for the agency's primary obligation for the welfare of the Indians and its lack of special interest in showing a profit, its role is similar to that of a business enterprise. An important goal is to develop the reserve using wherever possible the labour resources of the resident population. The criteria of successful management, like a balance sheet for directors and stockholders, are its annual reports of production and income that go to Ottawa. When these figures stand high, administrative responsibility has been fulfilled, and the organization that is run for the benefit of the Indians is deemed to be doing its best. It brings the Indians the maximum returns, and they, by participating as labourers and receiving the net cash returns, are provided with their living.

657 The Blackfoot's standard of living has undoubtedly been raised.
Through careful planning they have few lean months and more than
511 just annuities as a backlog for depressed years. The poor are neither so threadbare as those found on other reserves, nor are the wealthy living in idle luxury. This result has not been brought about solely by managerial considerations of efficiency; the Indians themselves urged many a paternalistic feature, in the interest of retaining and extending this basic guarantee of subsistence.

621 (2) The former groups under a head-man or chief constituted
571 not only the co-operative labour battalion but the group among
178

which the produce was distributed. Within these groups also were 621
specialists in native skills such as porcupine quilling, tipi cutting,
catching eagles, and curing the sick. For a suitable return the service 571
of one of these specialists could be obtained. Recreation took the 178
form of a hoop and dart game, horse races, ceremonial rites and
dances, all involving mainly members of the local group. Mutual
obligations of care and shelter were based on real or putative kinship.
A widow contributed her talents to the household of a son,
daughter, brother or sister in return for food and shelter. Grandparents
might bring up an orphan as one of their own. Though the
source of many commodities was already the trading post or the
agency, the group worked together and shared in common.

Under contemporary conditions a few of these features remain. The medicine-man continues but the other specialists have disappeared. Recreational groups are made up of people who by chance happen to be in a given locality at a particular time, like the workers at the coal-mines or the haying camps. The stampedes, the Owl Dances, the hockey games, the residual age societies and the occasional religious rite are tribal in scope, attracting interested persons from all the reserve. A reduced kinship group alone preserves most of its functions with its obligations of co-operation and sharing. In many respects the reserve residents are thus more unified than ever before, but in earning and sharing they are more divided.

To the officially recognized family of husband, wife, and children 602
go the returns from cattle, wheat, wages, and annuities. Yet many 571
obligations between generations, siblings, and in-laws remain intact
and serve as the main channels of distribution. Though the permanent [594]
obligations to a wide group of kinsmen are fewer, the social
structure continues in keeping with altered conditions. Today the 602
size of the kinship group is partially limited by the geographical 178
distribution of houses, but a more important factor is the generally
increased and better distributed wealth. The Blackfoot are neither 511
so poor nor so well-off as formerly; the range of wealth is narrowed. 571
While there are fewer indigents, at the same time fewer are able to
support many indigents. By and large the agency has assumed the 736
care of what indigents there are. In many cases an elderly person
lives with a biological family; other families have adopted children. [657]
But despite the contribution of more rations and annuities, only a
small per cent of the total can afford to maintain many dependents
over an indefinite period of time in the old way. Nevertheless, when 571

571 word of a windfall spreads, a man still finds himself obliged to share
with his kinsmen who come to eat from the newly abundant larder
and return home a few days later with a horse or a blanket.

511 These familial groups are today better provided for through
regularity of income. While fluctuations of fortune continue because
178 of variable growing and market conditions, and while a herd of
horses may diminish overnight from disease, the backlog of rations,
jobs for wages and annuities, together with more effective technological
controls, has helped to reduce serious reverses. As compared
with the hazards to property of an enemy raid during buffalo
days and the short life of an Indian pony when camps were continuously
on the move, the forces stabilizing wealth have certainly
[425] increased. The larger investment in permanent property such as
buildings, beef cattle, and farm implements, tends to be preserved
by passing it on within a family, instead of destroying it or giving
[657] it away to the first comer. This continuity is fostered also by agency
regulations forbidding the transfer of certain property.

A by-product of greater stability is the diminished possibility of
556 status mobility, a key incentive in the old system of individual
178 competition. While the Blackfoot still censures the lazy man who
now merely lives from rations, and while the agency does encourage
the industrious with jobs and issues of property, in many respects
personal advancement is more difficult today. The error of favouritism
has been successfully avoided by the agency, and there is
always a considerable number waiting for the agency hand-outs.
Hence there lies no broad avenue for the ambitious. As compared
with buffalo days, the capital investment necessary to become productive
is much larger today. Formerly one could aspire to a herd of
horses, the product of a successful war career, by starting only with
patience, fortitude, and prayer—even without borrowed weapons.
556 Today, before a crop can be raised, even with trust benefits, one
178 must wait for land, take one's turn for the issue of two teams of
horses and then with loaned equipment look forward to the magical
425 convergence of a productive year with a high price for the crop.
[241] Cattle are unobtainable, except through a relation's death or an
agency donation, and having reached in any case the limit of available
[231] pasturage on the reserve, one can expect little from this source.
As for jobs, the permanent ones yield only a meagre income and the
556 temporary ones are mainly helpful in tiding over an emergency.
178 Even the ambitious could ascribe getting ahead to luck rather than
[464] pluck.
[434]

177 same bundle would have been considered a valuable asset in the
778 competition for exhibition of generosity, to say nothing of its super-
natural benefits, and the possessor would have been aided by the
602 pooled resources of his large circle of kinfolk.

556 Yet there remain significant differences between white and
Indian consumers. Of low status in terms of skills which they can
177 contribute, their returns are less and their share proportionately
433 smaller. Few Indians have been able to alter their lot through edu-
cation, even if they normally could expect employment of their
skills off the reserve. In capital assets, they are paupers, for property
of value in the white economy is usually theirs only for use and not
for disposal. As participants in the white world they would be living
without opportunity for social advance on the bottom rung, with
inadequate diet, the cheapest of clothing, and the most dismal of
houses to rent.

177 This impoverishment not only occurred through dependence on
the white economy, but dependence redefined wealth itself. Starting
436 from a period when wealth was viewed in terms of horses transfer-
able between all Indians, it became increasingly necessary to deal
177 with whites. In these dealings the Indian pony quickly lost its value.
436 Later barter took place, but gradually transactions were restricted
to a currency basis. Now only the agency converts certain defined
437 commodities into cash. With conversion rates determined by the
177 agent and the world market, Indian labour and produce achieve
value for the white economy. In some respects the rate of conversion
● 657 is the same for Indian and white, yet in others, e.g. wages, seeking
436 to accomplish the most with limited operating funds, the agency
has set conversion at a lower rate than the one found off the reserve.

While the trust funds help mitigate some of the discrepancies
177 between the two worlds, the Blackfoot are still far from possessing
certain key advantages of the white citizen. On the reserve there
177 is little freedom or encouragement of enterprise. Skills of value in
472 the white economy are fostered to a point, but their development
as an enterprise is minimal. The possibility of loans from the trust
[426] fund has not been realized, probably because individuals have not
enough private property to offer as security to make the loan accept-
[453] able to Ottawa. Certainly banks and credit houses are excluded
since the property of these wards is inalienable. Moreover, the
[421] emphasis given by the agency and the council of chiefs has been on
collective advancement rather than on using the trust funds to

571 ingredients that went into these native cultural patterns enter today into raising a fine herd of horses or harvesting a bumper crop of wheat. Yet the distinction is clear in the Blackfoot mind that the old enterprises were never carried on at a sacrifice of basic security.

657 Today the reserve distribution and security system is balanced between two opposing forces. To the extent that the trust funds can provide them, this security will be a rallying point for many who seek even greater benefits. To the extent that these are provided,
177 the trust funds will stabilize the present system. The other side of the picture reveals the inroads of white economic ideology, dissolving
433 important distributive channels and isolating groups that formerly stood together. This has fertilized the ground for a competitive market system, so that when valued skills have been obtained, disintegration of the social body may continue. But at present these Indians are unable through poverty and unwilling through taste to forego security for potential benefits, though most make every effort to have white produce and their own basic security too.

ADEQUACY OF THE ECONOMY TO THE NEEDS

121 If the reserve economy has provided basic security, we may inquire in what respects it is adequate to satisfy the other needs of the Indians. Needs are determined by the report of a person experiencing them and, on the assumption that all behaviour satisfies some conscious or unconscious needs, by inference from an individual's behaviour. Accordingly we shall first ask whether any of the needs that a white man feels should exist on the reserve, do in actuality exist. Then we shall observe other Indian reserves and ask whether the apparent needs of these reserves also exist on the Blackfoot reserve. Finally we shall consider the conscious needs of the Blackfoot reserve, studying their relation to the economy.

511 *Needs as judged by whites.* The first comment of most whites hearing of the Blackfoot economic system is that the Blackfoot have their chief needs cared for. They have basic economic security: their rations obviate worry about food, the houses built on the reserve with trust funds are rent-free, the schools and the hospital are free, there are no taxes, the extra annuities for the aged provide old-age security. Judging by this, the Blackfoot have nothing to worry about, and hence must be the most care-free people in the world.

Have these needs inferred by whites actually been satisfied? 511
No, because despite rations, rent-free houses, educational oppor-
tunities, a hospital, and old-age pensions, we still find many in-
stances of behaviour showing that these needs still exist. In spite
of rations, the largest fraction of Blackfoot income goes for groceries. [434]
Blackfoot still build houses for themselves even though they have
already been provided with houses. Some Blackfoot have paid for [342]
courses in technical schools in Calgary, a few leave the reserve to [874]
attend boarding-schools, while others have sought to enter the town [872]
schools. Though the sick frequently go to the Blackfoot hospital,
others hire the services of medicine-men or white physicians in [758]
neighbouring towns. Few Indians cease to work at fifty when they [464]
first receive old-age benefits. Thus we may infer that despite the
presence of means satisfying their needs, these needs are not fully
satisfied. At best the trust fund helps diminish the urgency of some [657]
of them.

A somewhat tender-minded visitor who was acquainted with the
existing economic structure might come away from the reserve with
a different impression. He might be struck with the difference in
the Indian's standard of living as compared with the white's. The [342]
houses are small, frequently in rather poor repair. In some places
the wells are dry, and Indians must travel to the river, a distance [312]
of several miles, to obtain water. Wood for fires must also be gath-
ered at this distance. Sanitary facilities are often dirty, in poor [313]
repair, and sometimes lacking. Interiors are sometimes unkempt, [364]
bedding patched, and not too clean. Furnishings are adequate in [356]
some houses, but in others there may be little more than a mattress
in the corner for a bed. Modern conveniences practically do not [352]
exist: only one house has running water; three houses have elec- [365]
tricity. Though a fair sprinkling of hand-driven washing and sewing [404]
machines exists, other households seem to lack even soap and thread.
A few men own automobiles, but most travel by horse and wagon.
As compared with middle-class whites, there is obviously a lower
standard of living among the Indians on the reserve.

Do the Blackfoot feel a need for an improved standard of living?
An unqualified answer cannot be given. Certain improvements seem
to be rather universally desired, while others are seldom referred to.
Judging by the activity shown in these directions, Blackfoot would
like more food, better clothing, warmer housing, and larger amounts
of furnishings. Many informants went to the nearest store as soon [261]

These considerations show that improving the standard of living 511
is not purely a matter of increasing the annual income. To be sure, an increased income would probably bring more food, better clothing, and more abundant furnishings. Yet certain persons might still be expected to have hungry days because of the practice of enjoying the present and letting the future take care of itself. Moreover, an increase in income would not appreciably affect the quality of the houses, as the responsibility for upkeep and improvement of the reserve houses has been shunted into the agency's hands. Probably few would introduce running water or electricity, even should the income be available, for these needs are not sufficiently acute. Furthermore, some features of existence such as the wagon and the team would perhaps not change at all, since these are best adapted to local conditions.

Needs as compared with other Indian reserves. Such consider- 657
ations as the foregoing, though important to most whites, are of little concern to administrative officials, for consideration of Indian needs is seldom on such a basis. Officially, Indians are only compared with other Indians. Consequently, the question is whether the Blackfoot needs are as adequately satisfied as the needs of other Indians in Canada.

Table X shows the incomes of various Canadian Indian reserves.
These reserves were selected because they have exceptionally high 171
annual incomes for the year. Two Alberta reserves were also added, 434
not because of high incomes but in order to compare the Blackfoot reserve with those nearly similar geographically and productively. The table furthermore indicates for 1934 the main sources of this income, the total income for the reserve, and the per capita income. The year 1934 was selected because at the time of writing the reports for that year were the only ones available which contained recent census data.[1]

The total income of the Blackfoot for this year may be observed to be the third highest in Canada, and the per capita income second highest. Inasmuch as this was a poor year due to drought for reserves dependent on agriculture, one perceives the relatively secure position of the Blackfoot reserve. Those reserves which exceeded the Blackfoot in total income subsist mainly on trapping and fishing.

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[1] Dept. of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1934, contains all statistics given here.

511 [123] because, like most whites, we do not bring our "best" things when camping. In the light of our former considerations of standard of living where we found that most Blackfoot would be glad to have more food, better clothing, warmer houses, and more adequate furnishings, we can see that the level of living aspired to is not achieved by some under the existing conditions.

511 177 What groups seem to be represented in this type that asks for more than the primary satisfactions? In general they are the younger Blackfoot, the more energetic, "progressive" ones who desire to have some of the features of existence found in white homes.

511 177 657 What has happened to make these differences in the reception of the benefits of the trust fund? Our interpretation is a historical one, to which three main factors contribute. First, the trust fund does satisfy the needs of the older generation brought up to expect little more than subsistence. Second, there has been an increase in expectations among many due to the decade of prosperity after the surrender of land. Third, a new generation has grown up which is unfamiliar with the difficulties of its fathers, and has taken for granted the advantages accruing from the trust fund, and which has gained new standards from closer association with whites.

511 433 We have indicated that the type whose needs concern mainly the primary satisfactions is made up largely of old Indians. They are the ones who lived through the first thirty years on the reserve when real hunger was common. They received thankfully periodic gifts of clothing from the government, for they were often cold. With an axe they built their own houses and very gradually added such luxuries as glass windows, milled doors, and cast-iron stoves. They planted their own gardens not with plough or hoe but with a tipi stake in one hand and seed in the other. They saw their children grow thin, and for want of sufficient food fall prey to disease. They abhorred all that was white, for the whites had brought this degradation upon them. They looked with nostalgia to the days when the Blackfoot ranged the plains. Yet their present wants could be satisfied with trust funds, and though many were loath to cede more land to the whites, all had to admit, after living a few years with the benefits of the trust fund, that life was easier than it had been for many years. These people were satisfied with rations, the yearly granting of clothing, and the opportunity to have a little more from time to time by working on the roads. They settled down content to review their exploits and those of their fathers against the Crees and the Crows.

434 ations of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with reserve conditions.
The propertyless group and those with unsatisfied aspirations and
511 property are both dissatisfied. Whether they wish security or money,
[128] the reserve economy as it now exists seldom satisfies these demands.
Those with property and low aspirations are the main ones who live contentedly on the reserve, for their income comes almost without effort. Although some of these may once have had high aspirations, the discouragements have bowed them to acknowledge defeat.

657 There has then been a kind of dialectic process here. The trust
fund was intended to satisfy the wants of the Indians. This it did,
434 for few go hungry these days. But at the same time by satisfying
511 these wants, it has made others more acute and brought about the
182 emergence of new ones. The Indian of 1908 was perhaps satisfied
when he could get a square meal, but it also made him aware that he was cold and had no chairs in his house. So after a while chairs, stoves, and other furniture were issued to newly-weds. This man's son assumes these articles and desires a radio, or curtains in his windows. Thus the standard of values has been altered by the trust fund.

Some aspects of this changed standard have been indicated
434 already in our description of distribution and expenditure where
511 white goods are greatly in demand. There is also the desire to have
177 white standards of many kinds. Though the old Blackfoot may
have been satisfied with forty acres of land, today the young man
[423] says:

> [241] The Indians are given tracts of 40 acres of land to farm. The white man on
> [829] the adjoining land has 320 acres. He says he can barely make a living on that.
> How can the Indians be expected to become independent on a tract one-eighth the size?

465 With wages, the same change of standard has also taken place.
Some young men in need of money refuse jobs on the reserve when
177 they can make $6 to $8 more by working elsewhere. They are quick
to note differential treatment of Indians and whites in other respects. When feed for cattle was purchased in dry years, Indians readily observed that they received $1 to $2 less for the hay they harvested. It is also common knowledge and common cause for complaint that the price paid for ration beef on the reserve is lower than that paid whites when beef is purchased from them. The difference in type

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

of house built for the farm instructors and the house built at band 465
expense for the Indian is a further source of irritation. They see
themselves as potential equals to the whites. 177

Thus the trust fund has made the comforts of white existence
more available to Indians but at the same time has raised the aspir- 657
ations. In a real sense the Indians have been merely made aware of 434
these needs without being given the means of satisfying them.
Young people influenced by the desire for more are chafing that 511
their incomes do not permit them these things taken so for granted
by whites. Despite the fact that these people have basic economic
security and one of the largest incomes of any Indian reserve in
Canada, as a whole their needs have not been satisfied but augmented.

643 622 [431] a chief's gifts do not require reciprocation. Another chief was said to have impoverished himself by a neglect of personal for tribal affairs. This, of course, is not considered wise in Blackfoot terms, yet his chiefly zeal was approved. One chief declared:

> As a chief you have to see that other people get enough and you get less. You defer to others in selecting your personal area for haying and for remunerative odd jobs provided by the agent.

Thus even in competition for the benefits of the trust fund chiefs must look after the general welfare.

[577] There are also certain rules of conduct. A chief should act with dignity—when an agent dismissed certain chiefs for drunkenness and immorality, it was with the approval of many Indians. To gamble is also regarded disapprovingly, although chiefs may participate in ceremonial hand games.

643 657 As a group the council of chiefs forms a two-way communication device between agent and Indians. Regular meetings of the council, usually attended by many tribal members, occur four times a year and may be convened at other times by the agent to take up special matters. Though the minutes of these meetings have been kept only of late, it is apparent that the agent uses part of the time to communicate general notices. For example, at the special meetings of May 30, 1941, the agent explained that Canadian draft laws require Indian participation in the armed forces, that there was to be a national census, and that due to the glut of wheat in Alberta elevators, wheat raising was not to be encouraged. On the other side, the chiefs use these meetings to communicate to the agent tribal wishes, such as requests for wagons, repair of wells, and compensation for damages over a broken fence.

The agent, in whose hands final adjudication of disputes lies, also uses the council as an advisory board. Problems of inheritance resulting from Indians dying intestate are discussed by the council and recommendations made in accordance with Blackfoot concepts of justice. Conflicts over property, as in the case of a divorced couple, admission of outside Indians to the benefits of the reserve, recognition of adoption, and questions on the validity of a marriage are typical items brought up for settlement. The council may also certify the needs of persons who have appealed for wagons, tents, and other tangible benefits from the trust funds.

At these meetings considerably more falls in practice under council jurisdiction than is granted under the narrow statement of chiefly powers in the Indian Act. Doubtless in the interest of administrative harmony and of training, the agent has permitted wider latitude of action. There was no blocking of the council's resolution to review the estimates of expenditures of interest money before their submission to Ottawa. Increasing annuity payments, additional benefits to the aged, and other achieved proposals for the use of interest money have not been placed legally under the jurisdiction of the council. For the council to act as an advisory group in settling civil suits is not provided by law, and chiefs certainly exceed their vested authority when they investigate the efficiency of the agency's collection of rents from the lease of tribal lands. 643 657

Such practices, while exceedingly desirable from the point of view of utilizing the council, have one effect of confusing the members, for nowhere is there a working statement of the council's power. Certain measures advocated by the council are realized, while others appear to vanish at the end of the meetings. As one might expect, conflicts between the agent and the council do arise. In this event the agent has, of course, the upper hand, for though the law does not permit him to vote in the meeting, his duty in forwarding requests to Ottawa with or without endorsement may amount to more than a vote. Sanction is necessary by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs before a measure can become effective.[1] Thus though maintaining the appearance of democratic processes, the agent finds it imperative to side-track certain proposals. In view of this procedure, a somewhat cynical comment illustrates the attitude of one of the chiefs:

> Some cases demand an unanimous decision of the chiefs, others not. It depends upon the subject. I do not know why, but if the Indian Department makes the proposal, only a majority is necessary. But in 90 per cent of the cases where chiefs have suggested anything, it must be unanimously carried out, and even then the agent may or may not recommend it or send it to Ottawa.

As many chiefs are unaware of the statutory limitation of their authority and view themselves as legislators of a kind, the council position can be highly frustrating.

Moreover, in the tribe at large, the Blackfoot increase the confusion by continuing to endow the chiefs with the old aura of authority in spite of the new conditions. A man may still say, "The chiefs are the head of everything that goes on. Anything that happens, you refer to them." Few seem to realize that chiefs are no 622 178 433 829

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[1] The Indian Act, Sec. 99A.

622 643 754 Such a feeling of personal sacrifice is certainly reinforced when after election one chief fell deathly sick and another chief's house burned to the ground with tragic loss of members of his family. In the world view of the old Indians, such things do not occur by accident, and sorcery was rumoured.

Relations to the Agency

657 829 The election of a more aggressive council of younger men is of course no complete solution to the problem, and certainly most Indians are quicker to blame the agent than the chiefs. The Blackfoot recognize that the agency is the centre of power. One man said in a meeting, "I am against the chiefs, but we can't do much. I say that we must get after the agent and the white employees. It is up to them to correct things." Considerable suspicion exists that the agent is holding the Indian down. This view is documented by his refusal to exploit a source of natural gas discovered during the early twenties on the reserve. The agent, fearing demoralization of the Indians as a result of possible sudden acquisition of wealth, and knowing the costs of exploiting gas in a thinly populated country, had the pipe capped shut. All argument to the contrary was without avail. A demand at the mine for higher wages was denied by the agent since the coal is not sold for profit and the maximum wage under the circumstances was already being granted. Few Indians understood this limitation, and again the popular explanation became agency desire to repress the Indians. Agency opposition to increased cash annuities for fear of pauperizing the Indians is popularly regarded as an attempt to withhold money that is rightfully in the possession of the tribe. Many Indians feel that they are discriminated against because the agency pays them less than off-reserve whites pay, and because it pays higher wages to whites than to them in order to save funds. Such complaints fit well into the latent bitterness towards whites who robbed their forefathers of the land and drove away the buffalo. This attitude is expressed by one chief:

> A chief may have a feeling of persecution by the Indian Department or Indian Act or even the whole country of white people. Then he may have an impulse to oppose everything white. Probably this is the same sort of feeling that makes some people turn red [Communist]. It's the feeling you have when you are eating a tough steak with poor teeth.

So great was the feeling that the agency was running affairs without 657
reference to the Indians' welfare, that the tribe designated their
best-educated member and chief as "official scrutineer," invested 664
with the duty of seeing that the Blackfoot received all benefits due
them from the trust fund. The petition requesting such an official
was sent by the Indians directly to Ottawa, by-passing the agent,
in an effort to communicate with his superiors. The request remained unanswered in government files. After a year the Blackfoot 657
council themselves created the position. The following portion of 829
a document read into the minutes of the council meeting during the
discussion shows frustrated irritation and suspicion:

> I have been accused of talking too much at a meeting. The trouble is I don't talk enough. If I do not talk, when and as I do, most of the discussions and conclusions of these meetings would not correspond with the facts. Even now some of the records of past meetings are not accurate. I invite—I challenge contradiction in what I have stated. I will also venture to say that some of the records of past meetings do not represent the true feelings of my people. . . .

The agency regarded this statement as so much verbiage but did not see the tragic apprehension lying behind it. The fundamental conflict is over trust funds. Nonetheless, the repercussions extend much farther, for all failure to achieve complete satisfaction of Indian demands is interpreted as a conspiracy by the agency to repress and exploit the tribe.

Agency reaction to these measures varies between amusement 657
and irritation. It is grounded on the almost universal assumption by
whites that other races with an inferior standard of living have not yet matured. According to this belief, Indians are simple, childlike people who, being wilful, must be protected from acting in ways contrary to their best interest. The impression of immaturity is certainly fostered by the following letter addressed to the agent by an Indian:

> I seen Smith [the farm instructor] about that fence and he told me it was you that told him to tear it down that they should at least tell one that they were going to do that. I didn't know that till it was down. I thought I still own that place and I gave a good work horse to build that fence and also $5.00 to half breeds most of the pot [posts] were cut by them breeds and a lot of that wire that I rolled in [from] the sand hills. When I first started farming I was told that the house barn fence was mine There is a lot that knows the horse I gave in payment to build that fence. So that house is mine and I am going to keep it. If I was to go down to Smith and tear his fence down what would happen it would be jail for me. Yours very truly. . . .

657 Because so few Blackfoot speak and write English adequately, this
[191] letter is similar to many received by the agent. This impression of
immaturity is furthered by the constant appeal for funds from a
given account in the agency, and the common practice of working
only when in need of cash.

643 Consider also meetings of the councils of chiefs. The chiefs enter
the room feet clad in moccasins, wearing somewhat shabby suits
657 or brightly coloured cowboy shirts, their heads often covered with
[291] red bandanas on top of which sit broad-brimmed, dusty hats. Some
sit on chairs, others find greater comfort sitting tailor fashion on
[516] the floor. Most chiefs must communicate through an interpreter,
[191] and those who speak English often use broken English with phrasing
comical to the white ear. In view of the white tendency to consider
seriously only words addressed by persons who dress correctly, speak
in proper ways, and know approved decorum, the agency cannot
consider the chiefs equal partners in the direction of-reserve affairs.

657 Like other agencies, the Blackfoot agency's policies are determined
in part by the expectations of the Indian Affairs Branch at
Ottawa. A good reserve is one where production is aimed at maintaining
or achieving a level considered adequate for the people.
There should be a low index of crime, divorce, disease and, if possible,
few complaints by Indians or their white neighbours. To the
extent possible there should be a decreasing rate of expenditure out
of public funds and an increasing rate of school attendance. In these
[433] respects the Blackfoot agency stands well. Through competent
agency management production has been maintained fairly well in
certain respects and increased in others. We have no indices to
compare crime, divorce, and complaint rates from this agency with
other agencies, but judging by the tendency for Indians to remain
on the reserve, complaints at least should be low from the Blackfoot
[796] area. It is probable that the mild encouragement given to Blackfoot
religious ceremonials is considered a step towards maintaining native
[743] moral sanctions. Certainly the Blackfoot hospital offers a health
service that surpasses that of many communities in the vicinity.
[652] Thanks to the trust fund, public money expended for the reserve
[871] has reached a minimum, and nearly every child goes to school.

With respect to the Indians three administrative principles
[434] appear to be operative. First is the principle of preventing the
Indians from having too great benefits from the trust fund at any
one time, lest they become demoralized. On this ground many

attempts by the chiefs to increase cash annuities and other direct 657
issues from the trust fund have been resisted. For instance, more
benefits are received via cash jobs than via annuities, a practice 434
designed to contribute to reserve maintenance and help inculcate habits of industry. A correlate of this principle is the assumption that if Indians obtain control over the trust funds, they will spend them unwisely. The thought of an orgy where Indians spend in a few months the trust funds diligently accumulated over decades is an ominous ever-present spectre for the agency. The practice of
enforced saving with respect to agency accounts has been introduced [454]
with some reference to this fear. Certainly the pressure groups and the council of chiefs represent a continuous threat to this principle; to handle them requires delicacy together with an occasional show of firmness.

The principle of seeking out the tribe's immediate tangible needs 657
is important to the agency. Those measures of the council giving greater benefits to the aged and the infirm were quickly endorsed. The agent never hesitates to give grocery orders to a family in distress, providing they have not arrived there through negligence and indiscretion. The hospital was built with band funds despite council opposition. No questions are raised about expenses for medicines, and hospital food and shelter are readily granted to the old and young even when they are not sick.

Like all good administrators the agency seeks to maintain harmony. This must account for some of the latitude of interpretation
of the Indian Act, as shown previously.[1] Besides, when not in conflict [692]
with other rulings, Blackfoot concepts of justice are used to settle [183]
conflict, and Blackfoot ways preserve intra-tribal harmony.

In the distant future Blackfoot will be able to assume full responsibility for their own destiny. But the interim presupposes a
slow, painful, and discouraging process. That the agent has made 657
attempts to give greater responsibility is proved by the extra lati-
tude given to the council. Yet the agent described the following 643
event: 622

> We had a project a few years ago of dividing the reserve and giving each chief responsibility for improvements in a particular area. The chiefs finally wanted to be relieved of this responsibility. Relatives and friends put on pressure for changes. The chiefs were unable to say no. They are not hard like the leaders of the past. . . .

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[1] Cf. pp. 129, 136-137.

657 Such events confirm the agent's belief that the Blackfoot will not
be ready for many years to accept greater responsibility in controlling
643 their own destiny.

622 Actually the example reveals also a more fundamental conflict.
The failure of a geographical principle of representation by chiefs
622 is misconstrued by the agent as shunning a responsibility. Chiefly
jurisdiction is nebulous, but it is traditional that chiefs in any case
602 represent kinsmen and that followers of chiefs are usually kinsmen,
no matter how scattered. Indeed, a man may go miles to air his problems to a kinsman who is chief rather than confide in a more accessible chief who lives in the neighbourhood. It is not surprising, therefore, that the principle of geographical representation still succumbs to the traditional principle of kin representation. It is interesting that by the latter device the Anglo-Saxon problem of distinguishing between duty and personal interests, which include the family, and status obligations, does not occur since a chief conceives it as part of his duty to care for his relatives. Thus in this case there need be no impugning of Blackfoot chiefs, if judged in the light of their own definition of responsibilities.

657 The resultant of these policies has been, first and foremost, a continuous unresolved dispute between the tribe and the agency over uses of the trust fund. The Blackfoot regard the trust fund as their own money, while the agency feels obligated to prevent its control by Indians for fear of unsagacious use. Attempts by Blackfoot to achieve greater control are resisted by the agent with legal reinforcement. This in turn produces indignation and conniving on the part of the tribe with the result that agency feelings about Indian immaturity are confirmed.

Secondly, those measures which have been accepted by the agency at the suggestion of the council and have become a part of reserve practice have tended to make the Indians more dependent on the trust fund. Besides the various relief measures, agency management of the cattle herd, cash jobs given out by the agency staff, and material assistance to new farmers have contributed to create
[433] a social group that is highly dependent on the trust fund. Few
Indians leave the reserve for work in normal years (though white prejudice is also a factor); there is little Indian commercial enterprise; some Indians say that those who have married into the Blackfoot tribe, for instance the coal miners, do more of the work than the Blackfoot.

657 Blackfoot. These documents further the agency proposition that the Blackfoot are as yet far from a position of being capable of assuming responsibility.

657 643 A very serious consequence of agency policy is the destruction of the morale of the council of chiefs. For example, the agency's acceptance of certain proposals, the rejection of others which appear to Indians similar, give the effect that the reserve is run by whim. Wages for Indians are not increased to save trust funds, yet trust funds are willingly drawn upon to build and repair houses for the white staff. Doubtless a distinction could be made between these two types of expenditure, and doubtless considerable time is occupied by these explanations in council meetings. Yet the point comes out that Indian interests are deflected while white interests are permitted. This, plus the other irritating situations previously described, makes it appear to the chiefs that they are unable to attain their goals and undermines confidence in the value of the council. Two council members did resign, though their resignations were not accepted. However, it is clear that continued frustration of the council reduces its effectiveness by alienating those persons who are most eager and frequently best equipped to assume responsibility.

657 In the opinion of the writers there has been too little encouragement of Indian participation in the management of affairs. The agency manages well, but it manages for the Indians rather than in conjunction with them. Certainly there exists much ignorance on many scores. Education is deficient and communication difficult. Though hours may have been spent in explanation, this does not suffice. What is important is that few Indians really do understand the financing of the mine, the reason for deductions by the agency from their cattle and wheat returns, and the provisions of the Indian Act. This, of course, can be blamed on many circumstances, yet a good measure of the difficulty arises from a lack of policy for Indian participation in reserve management.

622 643 177 The most sanguine aspect of the political situation is the current Blackfoot demand for chiefs with education and familiarity with techniques of white culture. This is a long step from the older chiefs who, though familiar with reserve conditions, still could not make the mental step to the modern world. Young men with greater appreciation of the meaning of representative government and of the position of the Blackfoot as a minority group in a white population

177 This type of relationship does not obtain between the reserves with culture foreign to the Blackfoot, though a few Blackfoot have gone to Hobbema to witness the Sun Dance there. Even reserves with foreign cultures may furnish other Indians with havens; the Cree on their way to visit relatives at the Rocky Boy reservation in Montana frequently pass several nights on the Blackfoot reserve. Once a Blackfoot refugee from justice presented himself to a chief on a Dakota reserve in Saskatchewan, where he was accorded temporary refuge.

Permanent change of residence from one reserve to another is 167 rarer than visiting because of legal complications. To change residence automatically disqualifies an individual from receiving benefits of the trust fund, and this most Blackfoot are loath to do. On the other hand the fame of the trust fund has spread far. There are many who would like to receive these benefits but the agent and the council of chiefs guard the Blackfoot interests rather jealously. 582 For an outside male to marry a Blackfoot woman and reside on the reserve is difficult. Permission of the agent and the council of chiefs 563 is required, and they are reluctant to extend permanently the reserve benefits to outsiders. Where permission has been granted, it has ● [657] been mostly to other Blackfoot-speaking Indians. However, when an outside woman marries a Blackfoot, she is immediately eligible for rations and annuities when the marriage has been confirmed by the agent. Because of this opening many women from other tribes reside on the Blackfoot reserve. A sly Blackfoot saying runs that, if a man marries a woman off the reserve, he was unacceptable to Blackfoot women. This does not apply to the Blackfoot-speaking reserves so much as to the Sarsi and Cree. Nevertheless, many Cree and a few Sarsi women are receiving rations as if they had always resided on the reserve. For them, divorce or separation means loss of status as a reserve member, unless the marriage has been of long duration.

829 Attitudes towards the various reserves derive from a number of considerations, among which wealth, size of population, and the adherence to similar Indian ways of life seem most important. Because of common cultural heritage the Blackfoot-speaking reserves stand in the most favoured positions. The near-by Blood and North Piegans of Southern Alberta are known more intimately and received more warmly than the South Piegans from Montana. Members of wealthy and enterprising families on the Blood reserve

584 through an intermediary. After consent the two extended families
accumulate gifts for an exchange, all relatives who are able being
585 expected to contribute. In former times this exchange occurred simultaneously with the moving of the bride to the camp of the groom's family. Now the Christian wedding service and a dance with food provided by the wealthier of the contracting families may be added before the bride moves to her new residence.

Today individual choice of spouse is more frequent, and the
584 extended circle of relatives plays a secondary role. Young men in
602 school, after an acquaintance of varying duration, propose marriage; traditionally the girl is expected to open negotiations, though this does not always occur. If a girl is closely attached to her kinsmen, their consent will be sought, but often the relatives know only of the
584 accomplished fact. The immediate control of choice today, as a matter of fact, rests with the head-master or matron of the mission
[657] school. Their authority may be reinforced by the police or the agent. Inasmuch as the agent can allocate rations and the special marriage benefits of the trust fund, his sanction could carry considerable
[602] weight, but we have no cases of agency disapproval.[1] The approval of the match by at least one kinsman is of course imperative, for no young man is apt to have a residence to which he may bring his
585 bride, nor would she like to set up housekeeping alone at first. With minimum approval by the school authority and a single established relative, the marriage becomes official through a Christian service
[431] performed for a group of young couples in the church. A marriage that is unsanctioned by relatives may become acceptable later through strategically given gifts.

586 In case of an intolerable match relatives may be able to persuade the objectionable spouse to leave, or their kinsman to give him or her up. Marriage has seldom been so sacred a contract that it could not be terminated, were sufficient pressure brought to bear by relatives. Here again the agency and the council of chiefs may collab-
583 orate in maintaining or dissolving a match. Such a case in the extreme is the following:

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> A respected man with wife and family eloped with a widow who was reported to have seduced him. As is typical for women, she was assumed to have taken the initiative in this situation. The agent, chiefs, and interested friends besseched the man to return to his former wife. The man paid no attention.

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[1] This power over rations in the hands of the agent is a tremendous potential for coercion, and we are happy that no recent cases of its use for this end were brought to our attention. On the contrary, penniless Indians from other reserves have often received temporary help by being issued provisions from the Blackfoot larder.

When this pressure was unavailing, the two were shunned by all. After several 583
months together, the two quarrelled among themselves over suspected unfaith-
fulness. They separated, and the man committed suicide after leaving behind 586
notes addressed to his first wife. The woman later remarried, though to a man 762
of lower status than herself, and by exemplary behavior and even some show of
submissiveness has lived down much of the scandal.
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Here all pressure failed to dissolve the match, even ostracism. When
the microcosm itself collapsed, there were no other face-saving alter-
natives for the man than suicide, and suicide under any circum-
stances is very rare. Usually the agency policy is laissez-faire with 586
respect to marital affairs, and the foregoing case shows that the
maximum persuasion came from relatives and other Indians who 657
"cut" them socially. The agency is more often invoked to untangle [602]
the conflicting claims on property between the offended and the [626]
offending parties after separation. Here the council of chiefs is par-
ticularly useful in advising the agent as to Blackfoot practice and [643]
sentiment.

Although we have no substantiating statistics, the frequency of 586
separation seems higher today than in former times. There are few
Blackfoot who have not separated and remarried at least once, more
often four or five times. "Stealing" of wives or husbands, i.e., infi- 837
delity, is a frequent accusation, and the resultant jealousy becomes
the cause for most separations. In the past a husband's suspicion 586
of unfaithfulness led to brutal treatment of his wife, such as nose- [684]
cutting, society "rape" fests, or his sending her away. Of late such
jealousy seems to have increased, particularly since women as well as men are today considered capable of jealousy. The offended spouse either departs or sends the offender away, if the latter has not already eloped. This probably means the termination of two marriages, that of the co-respondent and that of the unfaithful woman. As a result, conflicting claims for horses, wagons, and household furnishings between these parties arise, and settlement becomes a delicate problem for the agent and the council of chiefs.

The causes for the increased fragility of marriage bonds lie in the 586
many social changes that have occurred since settling on the reserve.
First, we note an increased proportion of males to females, after the 182
cessation of wars. Seduction has long been considered an unofficial 178
male *coup*, and as this feeling has not diminished, and people live in [162]
greater proximity, opportunities for illicit affairs are greater today. [837]
In the second place, the punishment meted out by the offended
husband has decreased in severity in the light of white disapproval [177]
of mutilation.
[684]

829 work, and does not care how the Indians are getting along. So runs
the main theme of Blackfoot dissatisfaction. White employees of
657 the agency complain that Indians lack foresight and do not stay on
the job, that the benefits given them through the trust fund are
neglected, that with all the opportunities offered them the Indians
are ungrateful, try to swindle undeserved money from the agency,
and, if they succeed, only use the money for non-essentials, often at
the expense of the welfare of their children. They present a picture
of Indians thoroughly pauperized by, and dependent on, their benefits.
There are other dissatisfactions on each side, but these are the
main foci of irritation.

829 Our diagnosis indicates a social syndrome of malsatisfaction.
On the part of the Indians we see frustration of the need for
politico-economic self-expression. On the part of the white staff we see lack
of job satisfaction. Let us examine the mechanisms involved.

657 The advent of agency management of reserve production and
maintenance of peace has been relatively recent, mainly since 1910.
433 At that time, introducing agriculture resulted in the breaking up of
[241] the residual band organization and the destroying of the social
importance of the few independent entrepreneurs. These changes
[621] were necessary, for the Blackfoot had no rations at that time, and
most could not obtain sufficient food and clothing through their own
657 productive capacity. Accordingly, the Indians were easily relocated
on individual farms where it was hoped these needs would be much
241 more adequately satisfied. However, the agency and the white staff
gradually assumed the managerial role in farming. They provided
seeds, later paid Indians to plough and plant, sent out the harvesting
657 gang, collected and marketed the produce. The story is much the
same in cattle raising; wintering the stock, supplying feed, branding
[233] and rounding up the herd were gradually assumed by the white
[316] employees. The mine is also run for the Indians by a mining instructor.
Though at first the agency reached the Indians through
[622] their chiefs or headmen who still made decisions for keeping order,
it gradually assumed a greater share of even this function by direct
control over the reserve residents.

657 The result has been that the Indian as a producer and dweller
on the reserve is now integrated directly with the agency and
[177] through this channel with the white society. Only as a small consumer
of white merchandise and services is he integrated directly
with the white world. The role of the Blackfoot has become that of

a labourer or even an onlooker on an agency-managed grain-, cattle-, 657
and coal-producing establishment. From a politically independent
people the tribe has been reduced to a form of peonage.

A second factor has been the failure of the original farming 241
venture, the success of which meant the difference between mere
existence and an ample income. When the Indians originally adopted
farming, it was regarded as a means for becoming wealthy. In the 241
Blackfoot mind there is a definite association of wealth with power, 556
for as we indicated, the chiefs in the past were necessarily wealthy
persons. Through farming the prediction of Many Stars at the time
of the treaty would be realized: "All will be chiefs." This was true [574]
in good years, when Indians could invite friends and relatives to
their well-furnished homes for ostentatious give-aways. They could [484]
make trips to neighbouring reserves, there to continue the display
of generosity. Best of all, they might invest in a sacred bundle as [778]
a further token of concrete achievement and as supernatural insurance
against the vagaries of weather and fortune. This had always
been the Blackfoot way of indicating change of status, as conditioned
by years of experience with a plentiful buffalo supply and
the risks of warfare that might reduce one's wealth to nothing overnight.
If any followed the agency's counsel to save, a succession of [454]
poor or indifferent crops quickly consumed the backlog, and there
was nothing to show for the effort.

These two factors, the assumption of economic and political 829
management and the failure of reserve enterprises to produce a
return commensurate with Indian expectations, have produced frustration [657]
of the needs for political and economic self-expression. Since [433]
the council of chiefs is an impotent body and since the last vestiges
of political control were removed with the scattering of the Blackfoot
onto familial farms, a political void has been created. In good
times this arrangement produces no consequences, for there is opportunity
for self-expression in a gratifying Blackfoot social life.
Participation, however, is reduced by lean years. There results a
system of devices which can only produce satisfaction in the rare
times of abundance.

The question arises why in their dissatisfaction the Indians 829
blame the agency. The system would run much more smoothly if
Blackfoot themselves assumed the blame for failure and, as the 657
white employees propose, work harder. It is necessary to realize
first that the agency is regarded as the seat of the chief, and chiefs

824 always could be blamed for failure to provide sufficiently well for
their followers. If such an event occurred in the past, however, the
657 follower of a chief would move away to another chief in hopes that
he would be better off. Today this is impossible for nowhere on the
reserve can an Indian escape the agent. It is a rare individual who
is willing to lose his share of the benefits by leaving the reserve, since
the outside incentives are minimal.

622 Of course there used to be times of scarcity, when the chief was
not blamed. This occurred doubtless because the followers identified their interests with the chief's. People endured lean periods
serene in the knowledge that when plenty came again, the chief
would see to it that they shared in it. All could see when there were
no buffalo. Today even whites are perplexed by the vagaries of the
price system and create scapegoats who appear to work against
829 their interests. Opportunity is now rare for Indians to identify their
interests with those of the agency. There is a historic proclivity to
657 divide interests into those of Indians as juxtaposed to those of
whites, so that the slightest irritation is regarded as another white
injustice. There also lies in the back of the Blackfoot's mind the
knowledge that abundant cash is being kept from him which a
normal chief would never hoard, but would always share with his
followers. The agency has given up explaining this demand, and the
Indians are only frustrated in their attempts to get at these funds.

This lack of identification with the agency and the tendency to
regard it as a foreign intrusion into Blackfoot life have further
[231] repercussions. It will be recalled that Indians in the past refused
agency-given cattle because they not only sought to maintain their
independence, but also feared a trick to oust them from the reserve.
[426] They still prefer to buy their own farm machinery rather than
borrow the equipment made available through trust funds. This
[356] provokes no comment by white employees. Yet houses built at band
expense are not repaired by the residents, since the houses are not
[423] considered their own. This behaviour is considered ungrateful and
evokes much comment. When repairs are needed, the Blackfoot
[464] grumble at the agency for not caring about Indians. This rankling
which separates agency and Indians is fostered by the practice of
[356] paying Indians to paint their own houses. This stands in striking
contrast with the careful attention given to the repair of houses
[464] built by Indians. The agency also pays a man to plough and harvest
his own field, so that farm work becomes accomplished as a concession to the agency. One works not for oneself but because it is a

job that the agency pays to have done. Similarly when donations of teams, furniture, and farm equipment are received from the agency, they are received as something deserved but long overdue and often given the treatment of a cast-off article for which one need have no responsibility. The Indians' failure to utilize the agency-given benefits and to work conscientiously is akin to sabotage of an ardently despised institution. 829 657 [464]

Of course the crowning frustration occurs when the despised foreign institution forces its will on the Blackfoot by dint of its control of the trust funds. Desperate efforts to dislodge this power have been made by individuals and groups who wrote letters to members of Parliament recounting the injustices they suffered. Hard-earned money has been spent hiring lawyers to institute litigation which would never be admitted into court. Individuals have been on the alert to detect signs of corruption or negligence of duty on the part of agency officials who, it should be said, have always manifested high ethical standards. Council meetings and petitions to Ottawa are alike fruitless in this system, for the complaints are merely handed from higher officials back to the officials in the field for action. 657 664

To such questions as why the Blackfoot are lazy, why they neglect their benefits, and why they are eager to get money without work, it is an oversimplification to reply that they have too much money or too many benefits. The real answer is that they would receive their benefits gladly, perhaps even use them well, if they could be brought to see the undertaking as their own endeavour and not one being done for the benefit of an alien group. Such frustration of self-expression is not a unique occurrence. This impasse exists to some extent on all Indian reserves where the management has been assumed exclusively by the agency. Among the Antlers in the United States, tribal government disappeared as an indigenous system, and their welfare came under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Farming has been a failure on their lands, but cash has been forthcoming periodically from leasing or selling their allotted lands to whites. As long as it lasts, the cash goes for short sprees with high living and ostentatious spending. Indian attitudes towards their benefactors are described by Mead as follows: 121 171

> The Antlers consider the government employees there for their benefit, to serve them, to be bullied, insulted, or wheedled as the case may be. The assumption on the part of the Antlers is that every employee seeks to evade his duties, betray his responsibilities, grow rich upon the possibilities of graft which are

171 keep half us there is 'cause they ain't discovered a machine yet that would take our place." A member of the committee . . . said, "When the company does you a favor, they think they own you body and soul for the rest of your life."[1]

121 Various needs are widely recognized as existing, and allowance is made for them. Rarely, however, is a need for self-expression recognized as important. As a result things are done for the Indians instead of helping them to do the jobs themselves and putting up with certain mistakes. *Activity must be viewed as one's own or at least be identified as the achievement of one's group if there is to be participation in its accomplishment.* Many problems of managers, administrators, and social workers arise purely from neglect of this essential, resulting in considerable frustration both on the part of those who are to be helped and those who do the helping.

657 This has certainly happened on the Blackfoot reserve. The reserve employees, it seems to us, applied and were accepted for their jobs because they showed a genuine interest in Indian welfare. They probably began their jobs with goodwill and enthusiasm to help the Indians. They may have had initial success in arousing Blackfoot interest or at least success in relation to certain individuals. As dispensers of benefits, however, they expected a show of gratitude and, if not gratitude, some sign of progress as a result of their efforts. Since neither has been forthcoming to the present generation of white employees, they are disappointed. Help for Indians was granted where it was needed or would do the most good. Indians accepted the aid, used up their benefits, and subsequently reappeared in the agency waiting-room in search of more help. Under such conditions repeated day after day, satisfaction in the work cannot result, for many agency employees steel themselves to continue their tasks removed as far as possible from the people they once hoped to "advance." It now seems better to have the jobs done by whites than to wheedle and cajole the Indians into doing a job that in the end will not be done properly. The active interest in helping the Indians is replaced by hopelessness. Even resentment and hostility can grow from this situation until the white employee eventually may become useless beyond the mere handling of routine; enthusiasm, imagination, and will for helping the Indian may be practically extinguished. The Indian, in his turn, has become resistant.

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[1] C. S. Golden and H. J. Ruttenberg, *The Dynamics of Industrial Democracy* (New York, Harper, 1942), pp. 13-15.

APPENDIX A

Uses of Interest from Trust Fund

THE following are the uses of the interest from the trust fund to 652
1941: 657

Annuities. Cash annuities have been paid from a date within
a decade after the surrender of the land. At first $6 was paid to 652
every person. The increased income after a few years permitted
raising the sum to $10. A few years later Indian agitation succeeded 657
in obtaining $25 for all under fifty years of age and $50 for those 434
older than fifty. In 1940, 728 Indians received $25 and 126 received $50.

Rations. The same rations are given every man, woman, and 652
child as specified in the surrender agreement except that tea was
reduced to ¾ lb. per month. Special rations for the old, infirm, 657
convalescent, and indigent have been established. This may mean monthly allotments of such articles as baking powder, salt, oatmeal, sugar, syrup, beans, soap, matches, and tobacco. If a person is not under fifty, he may receive these rations if certified by the hospital or by the agent.

Medical Care. The hospital was built in 1922. In 1940 it was [143]
staffed by a resident physician, six registered nurses, sundry attendants and maintenance workers. Free medical treatment, bathing facilities, and lodging for short periods of time are provided for any Indian. The medical budget also pays for special treatment that cannot be given locally, viz., Blackfoot patients in tubercular and insane hospitals.

Clothing. Old people may receive an annual issue of various articles of apparel, including yard goods, suits, overcoats, blankets, underwear, shirts, and overshoes.

Equipment. Newly married couples are given at trust expense the following items: harnesses, a wagon, chairs, tables, a bed, mattress, cooking stove, and kitchen utensils. All farmers may avail

652 themselves of farm implements purchased by the trust fund but
651 must hire the tractors at their own expense to cultivate their fields.
Free seed is issued. Every year fifteen to twenty new harnesses and wagons are issued either to the newly married couples or to others in need of replacement. Tents are issued to persons who can show need for them.

Live-stock. Besides the purchase of blooded bulls and stallions for the improvement of the reserve herds, the trust fund is used to buy work horses and calves. Four work horses are issued to each new farmer. Farmers who have lost horses or non-farming Indians in special need of transportation may also be issued work horses. A varying number of beef calves are issued to persons on the reserve; policy emphasizes giving to those in need of additional income. As these donations are handled with the general herd, the owners are not burdened with their care.

Maintenance. Varying sums are annually set aside for materials and wages to dig ditches, grade roads, mend culverts, paint houses, repair buildings, and dig wells. Most of this work is done by Indians, though where skilled labour is required, whites are usually called in.

Wages to white employees. This includes $1,500 per year as wages for each of four farming instructors and three stock-men. They are provided with a house erected at tribal expense, for which they pay a nominal rent. These men are also provided with automobiles for facilitating their work and weekly issues of meat for their families.

582 I lost my first teeth. I have never cared for any other man, nor did I have a secret lover.

657 "My father was Black-Snake Man. He was head chief of the tribe many years ago. I remember when he first told our people they were going to get food from the government. At that time were were camped at the place where the Yellowstone River flows into the Missouri. Then many Indians were starving because the buffalo had disappeared.

796 782 "During my life I have given three Sun Dance ceremonies. I gave my first Sun Dance because of a battle with the Assiniboines. I made a vow in order that Sun might keep some of my relatives from being injured in the fight. I gave my second to fulfill a vow by my son Cross Guns. He made it in battle when surrounded by enemies. Cross Guns escaped and came home. When I saw him I ran out to meet him. He kissed me and said: 'Mother, I have made a lot of trouble for you. In a fight with the Crows I was surrounded and thought I was going to be killed. I made a vow to Sun. I promised that if I came through alive you would make a Medicine Lodge. I know this means suffering for you—to starve yourself and become thin and weak.' But I was glad. Quickly I made my vow, and I kept praying day and night until I performed the ceremony.

778 425 "I was fourteen years old when I learned about the medicine pipes. One day White Calf had visitors in our tipi. He ran short of tobacco and asked me to borrow some from his friend Four Bears, the famous medicine man. When I came to the lodge of Four Bears I found it very crowded inside. I wondered what was going on, but had no idea that it was a medicine pipe ceremony. I stood in the doorway and asked Four Bears for the tobacco. He said he had none. I started to go away, but Four Bears called me back. He left his seat at the back of the tipi and took some tobacco from a bundle hanging over the doorway. It was a medicine pipe bundle. He burned incense and held the tobacco over it, then he made

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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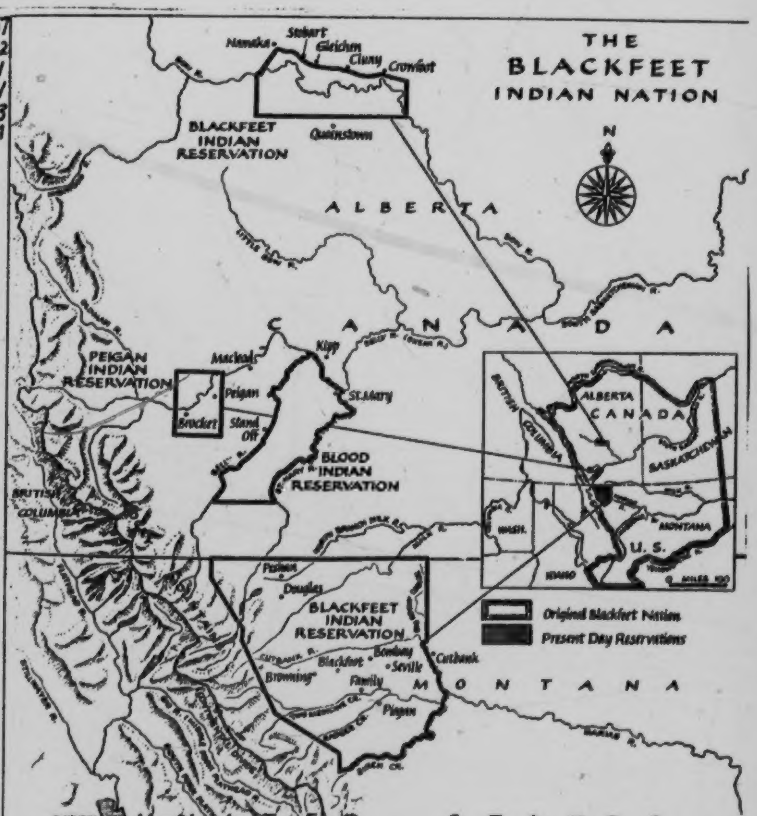
THE BLACKFEET INDIAN NATION
N
Namaka
Stobart
Gleichen
Cluny
Crowfoot
BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION
Queenstown
ALBERTA
Bow R.
Little Bow R.
South Saskatchewan R.
CANADA
PEIGAN INDIAN RESERVATION
Macleod
Peigan
Brocket
Stand Off
Kipp
St. Mary
BLOOD INDIAN RESERVATION
BRITISH COLUMBIA
North Branch Milk R.
Milk R.
BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION
Douglas
Cut Bank R.
Blackfoot
Browning
Bombay
Seville
Cutbank
Family
Piegan
Two Medicine Cr.
Badger Cr.
Birch Cr.
Marias R.
MONTANA
Flathead R.
Flathead Lake
UNITED STATES
0 Miles 50
ALBERTA
CANADA
BRITISH COLUMBIA
SASKATCHEWAN
WASH.
IDAHO
MONTANA
U.S.
0 MILES 100
Original Blackfeet Nation
Present Day Reservations

[Introductory p. ii]

Crow." He spoke the Blackfoot language and 114
took an interest in the Old Ways. With notebook and camera he recorded some of those Ways from those who still knew their traditional meanings. He wrote down the Blood versions of many old tales told among the tribe. These were given to him by the master storyteller, old Eagle Ribs. He also wrote accounts of Medicine Pipe, Beaver Bundle, and Nighttime ceremonies as they were led by such holy men as Moon and Running Wolf. He used both paper and camera to record the last Medicine Lodge self-torture ceremony, at which men who had promised to torture themselves physically, in exchange for spiritual help during some earlier time of need, fulfilled their vows. Many of the customs and rituals Wilson recorded still are alive in the Old Ways we observe today.

Copies of Wilson's unpublished papers and 127
photographs are in the collections of the Glenbow Foundation Archives in Calgary, Alberta. The foundation's historical director, Hugh Dempsey, was most helpful in my efforts to record all these Old Ways; his staff also gave time, locating and duplicating photographs and papers. It is good to know that some museums and ethnologists care more for our People's Ways than just to collect their belongings.

◆

In 1892, people were already living in log cab- 657 ●
ins instead of tipis. They could not roam beyond 178
the limits of the reserve, and cows had replaced
buffalo as the source of meat. Nevertheless, most [342]
of the Blood People still taught their young and
lived according to the Teachings of the Old
Ways. They continued to be proud to be of the
Blood tribe, and worked hard to learn the songs
and ceremonies that had inspired their parents
and grandparents.

An example of how closely the People still 796
followed the Old Ways occurred during the 782
winter before the Okan. Seven women felt called
upon to vow to make the personal sacrifice of 793
"putting up the Medicine Lodge." Among our 796
People, the person who represents the tribe in the [156]

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 22A)

[P. 21-A]

they were the first to perform in the Medicine 575
Lodge. This was an opportunity for the societies 561
to inspire the People, as well as themselves, with 796
their ceremonies and comradeship. And it was an
honor for members to donate food to the gathered [431]
People, who were given good thoughts [556]
through the gesture.

After the presentation, the People were asked 796
to return to their lodges and spend the night
quietly. There was to be no noise, especially near [784]
the Medicine Lodge. The Weather Dancers were [791]
fasting and meditating on the Holy Powers
created by the sacred encampment. [785]

THE SELF-TORTURE CEREMONIES

Another group to participate in the Medicine 796
Lodge ceremony came to fulfill their own vows.
These were men who had made vows of physical 782
sacrifice in exchange for spiritual help from Sun. 785
Such vows were usually made during dangerous situations, perhaps on the hunt or warpath, when death seemed imminent. A vowing man might call out to Sun, "Help me, O holy Sun, my Father, and let me see you again with happiness. Give me your strength so that I may survive this danger, and I will give myself to you. I will help my People to remember your Holy Power by performing the physical torture dance during the next Holy Lodge ceremony of our People." Fulfilling such vows was truly a Sun Dance, and inspiring to those who watched.

WILSON'S OBSERVATIONS: 1892

The last time self-torture vows were fulfilled dur- 796
ing a Blood Medicine Lodge ceremony was in 785
1892. The days of warpaths were already past. Al- 657
though our young men still went on regular horse
raids then, there was seldom any fighting, even [178]
when the raiders were caught. Government agents [721]
knew that the self-torture ceremony inspired a
spirit of adventure, which they opposed. Follow- [182]
[177]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 37A]

[p. 36-B]

ing the 1892 Okan, the agents sent word to the 796
People that participants in self-torture would 785
henceforth be jailed. They aroused outside backing 657
for their move by calling the ceremonies
"heathen rituals." The missionaries hoped that [177]
this ban would lead to an end of the Medicine
Lodge ceremony itself. However, Medicine [797]
Lodges continued to be built. Self-torture vows
were carried out in places that were not so public.

In writing and with his camera, Wilson re- 796
corded the details of the last ceremonies to fulfill 785
self-torture vows:

> *Next day nothing occurred until afternoon,* [575]
> *when some members of two Societies, "Crazys"*
> *[Wilson's own name for the Crazy Dogs, who*
> *were not actually crazy in any way] and "Black*
> *Soldiers," came out of their rows. At this, Sitting* [292]
> *Bull's son entered in the paint garb of the "self-*
> *torture" as follows: no clothing except breach*
> *cloth and a blanket wrapped about him. A wreath* [824]
> *of wild sage about the head, a ring of same about*
> *each arm and ankle. Painted with white dirt from* [302]
> *head to foot. He sat down upon his blanket and*
> *presently some one placed a pillow and quilt on*
> *the ground upon which he laid down. A man* 796
> *assisted by others put a skewer in each breast and* 785
> *a 3rd* [behind] *one shoulder. When he arose to* 304
> *his feet a shield was fastened to the skewer in the*
> *back and the ropes from top of centre pole, to the*
> *others* [on his breasts]. *He walked up and embraced* [782]
> *the centre pole and silently prayed. Then*
> [he] *went back until the ropes tightened and,*
> *reaching around behind, grasped the shield, tore*
> *it from his flesh with a jerk and cast it upon the*
> *ground. Giving a yell, he next caught hold of one*
> *of the ropes in each hand and gave them a couple*
> *of good jerks which pulled the skin out from his*
> *breast several inches each jerk. Then he threw* [534]
> *back his full weight upon the ropes, having first*
> *inserted a whistle in his mouth, the string of it*
> *depending from around the neck. The drums* [535]
> *started up and the boy danced in time to their*
> [533]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

292
237
778
534
793

Eagle Arrow. The eagle-bone whistle and the feathers are his Medicine. (Glacier Studio)

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the Brave Dogs. At the age of thirty-five he joined 793
the Horns. 778

For several years Wings worked on his [575]
brother's farm and then on the reserve's agency
farm. Because the agent liked Wings, he was [561]
often given pleasant jobs like driving to town in a 793
buggy to pick up mail and groceries. Eventually 778
the agent decided to set up Wings on a farm of
his own. Wings chose a vacant piece of land on 657
the reserve and became a "homesteader" (an option [464]
still open to members of the band). The
agent loaned him eight good horses, a wagon, a [426]

[p. 156-A]

six-strip canvas tent (many of our People still 793
lived year-around in tents and tipis back then), a 778
plow, and enough food to get him started. [657]

By the time Wings vowed to take our sacred [426]
Pipe, his farm was operating well, and he had
already paid off the agent's loan. But after he [342]
made his payments for the Bundle, he didn't have [432]
enough horses left to haul a wagon. Besides, the
wagon itself had been included as part of the payment. [511]
For him, the sacrifice had been considerable.

The next Owner of our Bundle was Bob [551]
Black Plume, also known as Apikayi, or "Skunk."
He was given the name by his grandmother, who [553]
used the Power of that animal in her doctoring. [755]
He was a regular leader of our sacred ceremonies
until recently, when he decided to give all his [797]
devotion to the Full Gospel Church.

Bobtail Chief was the leader of the ceremony
during which our Pipe was transferred from
Laurie Plume, or Otter, to our Old Man. The [431]
Old Man kept it for ten years, then gave it as a
present to his son-in-law, Bob First Charger. The [765]
Old Man was then mourning the death of his
wife.

SikskiAki was first in the presence of the Pipe
when our Old Man had it. She was just a little [852]
girl when Grandma AnadaAki and her husband,
Ben Strangling Wolf, took her along to the Old
Man's spring Thunder ceremony. Although SikskiAki
was then quite young, her memories add to
the spirit the Bundle now has for us.

THE DIFFERENT-PEOPLE PIPE

One of our remaining Medicine Pipe Bundles has 778
been with our People since the year 1833. Some
ethnologists have called this Bundle the Gros
Ventre Pipe and even the Long-Time Pipe.
Among our People it is known as *NamaTappi-Achkuineman*,
or the "Different-People Pipe." It [177]
was brought here from the Mandan tribe.

Our head chief at the end of the Buffalo

ferred ownership within their own group. When 778
the People moved on to the reserve, they settled 432
there according to their bands. Thus, some of our
Old People knew quite well the histories of the [657]
Bundles among their own band, while they knew [361]
little about other Bundles.

Bundles are the spiritual property of their 778
Keeper, or Owner. Our People used to live with 42
the fact that owned property could be reclaimed
at any time by nature, through loss, damage, or
death. They believed that owning something
meant caring for it until it was claimed by a
stronger Power.

TWO MEDICINE PIPE TRANSFERS: 1890s

Many firsthand narratives of long-ago Medicine 778
Pipe ceremonies are available among the Piegans, 796
but not so many among our People, the Bloods.
The oldest record among the few comes from the
papers of Robert Wilson in the 1890s. Those who [178]
took part in the ceremonies he witnessed still
practiced their Old Ways daily, but even then
were no longer totally dependent on nature in
their way of life, so that they could not fully relate
to the representations of nature inside the
Bundles.

Although Wilson was not always aware of [114]
the meanings of the symbols he saw, I will pass on [127]
to you what he wrote.

Sacred pipe holders are easily distinguished 793
by the free use of red paint on their person, having 778
it rubbed all over their white blanket or coat [531]
and also over the leggings and moccasins, their
wives painted the same. A pipe-holder wears upon [301]
each wrist a blue bead tied with a buckskin
strand, (the wife also; or, if man does not wear
beads upon wrist, he will have one bead and a
shell strung upon a buckskin string on his neck.)
[The Owner and his wife wear both necklaces [796]
and wristlets during the ceremony.] Children [852]
who have been painted during [the] ceremony of
transfer also wear the beads.

[P. 126-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

monial raising of sacred tobacco. After our People 241
settled on the Blood Reserve, however, they soon [249]
learned to raise potatoes, turnips, carrots, and
some other vegetables. Before that, vegetable [657]
foods had been used only for a change in diet, or [262]
as an addition to our Old People's basic diet of
meat.

None of our People today were raised with- 262
out such products as flour, tea, and sugar. But 178
over the past fifty years their basic diets have [263]
changed tremendously, from natural meats and
vegetables to commercial beef and many starches, [272]
fats, and sweets. According to the Old People, [827]
bodies were much stronger in the Old Days. The
Old Man, as a doctor, had this view of the diet
changes among our People:

When I was young I was taught that the
good foods were meat and berries. My parents [241]
were just learning to raise a garden when I was
born, so they didn't know much about the white
man's vegetables. The meat we had came from
animals that ate nothing but natural growths and
water. Even our cattle lived just as though they 825
were wild. Today our meat often comes from ani-
mals that are fed white man's invented foods, and
they are given strange materials through injec-
tions with needles. Even their manure often does
not smell natural. In the past, all the animals we
ate just lived on grass and plants and water—all
that was clean. We used to eat our meat with 827
plenty of fat on it. That gave us the strength to [261]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 181-B]

[p. 180-B]

herd. My neighbor's horses just happened to be grazing along my way, so I walked toward them to try my luck. I learned right away that grazing horses aren't eager to make friends with strangers who appear silently out of the dark. The whole bunch stampeded before I got within roping distance, except for a white horse, which I approached slowly. I thought if I could get a rope on that one I could use it to catch up with the others and herd them away. I was able to walk right up to that white horse. Then I saw that the poor thing was hopelessly lame. I realized why raiders in the Old Days preferred the horses tied to lodges—they were not only the best ones, but maybe the only ones they could get near. 123 [721]

GEORGE FIRST RIDER: EARLY DAYS ON THE BLOOD RESERVE

Among those still living who remember the old stories and their importance back in the Old Days is George First Rider. Earlier, we read some of his doctoring accounts. Here is what he has to say about the early days on the Blood Reserve, as well as his own life. 115

Oki, I am going to tell the story about the Given to Us [The treaties]. I wasn't at the first Given to Us. [Treaty No. 7, signed in 1877 by the chiefs of the Bloods, North Piegans, Blackfoot, Sarsi, and Stonies. The reserve given to our People by that treaty was farther north than our present one. The Bloods moved to the present reserve in 1883, after Red Crow advised the government that this was a traditionally favorite area for the People and that they would be happier there.] My father was there at the ridge into the river [Blackfoot Crossing, East of Calgary, Alberta—site of the signing of Treaty No. 7]. A lot of the People were given double—after the children were counted with one family the parents sent them over to be counted with another family so they were given again—they got some more money. 173 648 657

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

We were given seven completes [dollars] and 657 we put the fives [five dollars] into funds, and that's 648 where the promises were made. . . . Shorty 173 [nickname of Colonel MacLeod] said, "You will put these fives into funds," and Tall White Man [Lieutenant-Governor David Laird] gave us rations. When Shorty Gave to Us he announced it hard [he repeated his statements in English after the People were told in Blackfoot by the interpreter]. Shorty said, "The Chief Woman [Queen Victoria] made truce with you with these payments. Now you are all the children of the Chief Woman." He told us she said, "Nobody will bother my children now—they are my children." She told us to put away our weapons, our bows and arrows, our daggers, and the sacred things we used for war. The Chief Woman told us, "Do not steal and do not go on the warpath anymore. I will give you all the birds and animals to eat." That is why trapping is not forbidden on an Indian's [224] land. A person will do what he can to get food. [Hunting and trapping are allowed year-round on the reserve.]

Shorty told us: "These are the promises we make to you. You are promised that the seven dollars will never cease to exist. You will be given rations." Oki, we were also promised education, and medical care. That day, when they were giving [191] the promises, there was no one of us that was educated and spoke white-man talk. The interpreter was not a full Indian, and he left out a lot of words. There were a lot of words that he didn't translate.

The Old People offer holy smokes to each [782] other. They will say, "We will talk straight as the [276] straight hole in the pipestem." The reason why the stem is long on the pipe that we smoke is that a promise will last long. Oki, they looked for a way how they are going to make an oath. The Old People couldn't make the white people swear on the pipe because they didn't believe in it. So, the Old People were shown to swear on the longest term of life. They were made to swear on the [177]

[p. 230-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Holy Writings [the Bible]. . . . But they swore 657
in their own way: "When the Sun ceases to shine, 648
and the rivers have flown away dry, and the grass 173
no longer grows, that will be the end of the Treaty [177]
—the education, rations, medical care—all these
biggest promises in our life."

When I was young, my father and many others 657
trapped coyote cubs. [The newly-arrived cattle 173
ranchers hated coyotes and wolves, so the rancher-controlled
government offered large bounties for [224]
the pelts of these animals. Many of our People [434]
eagerly hunted for the pelts in order to supplement
the government's subsistence rations allowed.]

The Many-White-Horns-Owners [ranchers], we gave them our food vouchers and they gave us rations—flour, baking powder, sugar and tea and meat. [The ranchers exchanged the food vouchers for money at the agency.] Then they opened their lands to us to go and hunt coyote cubs. . . .

Those People of that time all had horses. Very [231]
few didn't have horses. Some few didn't farm.
All they had was a mower. They get a voucher [241]
for a mower at Where We Have a Father [the
agency] and then they own a mower. The Bloods [425]
all move camp out on the prairie. They get money [407]
only twice. [The People could camp wherever
they wished, within the boundaries of the reserve. [361]
Permits from the agent were needed to leave the
reserve.] Because of the Big Lease we get twenty-five
dollars when it's about to be a Big Holy Day. [434]
[Christmas Day; each year at Christmastime every [427]
Blood receives twenty dollars as a share paid by several white ranchers who lease huge areas in the northeast part of the reserve. The ranchers pay for leasing the land and give the tribe a percentage of the profits made from the grains they raise and sell. This provides the tribe with its main source of earnings.]

We get our treaty payments at the home of [622]
Owns Many Horses [another name for Crop-Eared Wolf, who succeeded Red Crow as our head chief upon the latter's death in 1900], and

also at Already Singer Woman's home [Mrs. Red 657 ●
Crow; she and the chief adopted several children, 173
including Crop-Eared Wolf]. That was when the [622]
sidewalks were still boards in Men with Many
Wives [Cardston]. . . . [597]

Owns Many Horses and his wife, Last Rifle 657
Woman, closed the liquor store here in Men
with Many Wives. There is a house located here 173
[in Cardston]; the owner's name is Buckskin. The 733
hill where his house is located is called Whiskey 273
Hill. The People that drank were all drinking
on that hill. Nowadays the drunks fight. At that [443]
time the drunks just danced, they didn't fight.
That's what they were doing, they were dancing, [625]
when the seizers [policemen] got there. All the drunks got into the wagon by themselves. But the horses were unhooked from the wagon while the People were getting in. The horses run away and the drunks dispersed and took the wagon with them. A few were arrested the following morning [in those days our People could be arrested and jailed for thirty days for having been seen drunk, or for having alcohol on their breaths], but Red Crow had them released.

Red Crow and Owns Many Horses sat with this Big Grey Mouth [one of the Mormon elders with a big gray beard]. Red Crow told him, "My friend, it was very good the way we took each other for a relative, but there is something that is going to separate us. It is that liquor store."

[p.231-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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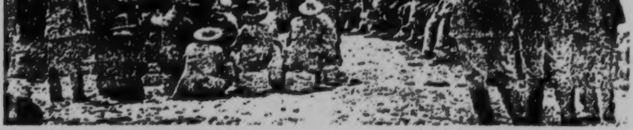
425



[191] Blood meeting at the ration house in 1917. The People were gathered to hear the district superintendent for the Indian Affairs Department give a sales pitch to persuade them to sell parts of the reserve for fifty dollars per acre, instead of leasing it. Next to him stands the Interpreter, Ben Strangling Wolf. The vote was in favor of a sale, but then it was learned that the agent had bribed a large number of the People to cheat by sending underage children and by voting several times under different names. The sale was cancelled and the land was leased. This became known as the "Big Lease," because it involved a large part of the reserve, which is still leased. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.231-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

The Mormon elder asked Red Crow, "What do 657
you mean by that?" Red Crow told him, "We are 173
the children of the Chief Woman. She told us 733
not to drink. Now you, why did you give drinks 273
to my children? The way we sat together is going to be ruined." Big Grey Mouth told Red Crow and Owns Many Horses, "My friend, the way you treated us is very good. Where we are settled now, this land connects with the Piegan, you gave me that, and why should we be bad relatives? Now, my friend, I will promise you this: in our country, where we are settled, all the doors of liquor stores will be closed. This way to Glenwood, and all those like Humpback [Magrath], Where Sugar Is Made [Raymond], and at Thorny Place [Spring Coulee] there will be no liquor stores in these towns, and there will be no liquor store here in the Men with Many Wives."

It wasn't long after that when the liquor store burned down, and it was never erected again. Now, I heard that when He Captured Many Guns [Senator James Gladstone, famous as the "first Indian senator in Canada"; he took the Bloods as his People and spent his life on the reserve] went to England, he asked for the liquor rights and now drinking is open for the Bloods. Now it is very lonely the way the Many Chiefs are living. They kill each other every day and they die in [578] *accidents. They fight and they separate. Many children are deserted. The new life is very lonely and now, today, the Old People are dying from broken hearts. It's on account of the new law. The first treaty—how happy are the laws that were given to those People. Today, we extinguished the Sun. . . . Life was happy . . . that life will never come back. . . ."*

HISTORY OF MY OWN LIFE

Oki, now I am going to tell a story, the story of 159
my life.
657
The white men herded their cattle on the
Blood Reserve and they paid four dollars to each 427

[p. 232-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

person on the reserve to let the cattle graze there. 159
This practice began when Eagle Bear accepted [657]
the first four-dollar payment. That was in the year [427]
number 1904 when I was born. Small Priest [the
People's name for Father Dusette] baptized me, 951
but he didn't give me a name. I don't know why 551
I wasn't called after my father, Dog Child. When 553
I was not many days old, I was called First Rider, 159
and I grew up with that name.

When I was a little bit old-personlike [when 868
first active as a child], my father taught me to 492
ride. This was during the number four winter of 159
my life. There was still a lot of horseback riding
then and a lot of travois for transportation. Very
few had slim-wheelers [buggies]. I was tied on a
horse, and the horse was tied to a picket. Some-
times I used to go to sleep on the horse. My [237]
mother made a pad saddle out of blue jeans and
stuffed with big-head fur [sheep's wool]. There
were stirrups at that time; I used to see them,
they were made of wood. But my stirrups were
rawhide thongs, which fit my young feet better.

I grew up in the land of the Men with Many 411
Wives [Cardston, Alberta, is a Mormon town]. 159
My father was a hunter and he had many rifles;
a slim-gum-arrow [.30/30 caliber]; a double-bar-
relled hunting gun; also a Number 22, called a
gopher rifle. And he was one of the first to own
a Number 303 rifle [.303 caliber]. He set traps for [224]
coyote, beaver, and muskrat.

My father made me eat all kinds of deer. The 262
People of the long-ago liked to eat the part of 159
the mother animal that the baby animal sucked
on. The only thing they didn't eat is the milk of [272]
the big white heads [mountain sheep]. I heard
that this milk is very bitter. 159

When I killed an elk, my father showed me 869
they have seven nest lumps [nipples], not four or [825]
six or eight. He showed me that badgers have
blood clots on their ribs. We sprinkled gun [787]
powder on the badger's blood and from looking
at our reflection in the blood we knew how long
we were going to live. My father saw from his

[p.232-B]

der. Often, when the buffalo ran close together, 224
he shot two with one arrow. . . . 411

HEAD CHIEF RED CROW

The most famous chief in our recorded history is 622
Red Crow, who was head chief at the end of the
Old Days and the beginning of reserve life.
Among our People today his name symbolizes the
glory of the past. Red Crow was a brave leader [648]
when enemy war parties still threatened our
People, but was also a peace advocate when his
People were asked to join in the native uprising
known as the Riel Rebellion, and when his
People were angered by the white settlers and
their government. Red Crow certainly helped
make it a fact that the Blood (and Blackfoot)
People never fought the intruding government
with arms.

Like many leaders faced with trials of such 622
dramatic changes as loss of the buffalo and restriction 156
to a reserve of land, Red Crow did not perform
his duties in a manner that pleased
everyone. Some of our Old People today still talk [423]
with bitterness about some of his doings, such as [657]●
his sale of choice ranchland on the west side of
the reserve for fifty cents an acre. He also gave a [435]
group of Mormons a ninety-nine-year land lease [427]
that includes the present site of Cardston, Alberta.
Red Crow later said that he understood the
agreement only to be a rental arrangement. The
interpreter, a Cree half-breed, admitted years later
that the Mormons had paid him well to misinterpret
the documents to which Red Crow put his
mark. Red Crow trusted his Mormon friends because [609]
they treated him well and often filled his
buggy with groceries when he went to visit them.

As head chief, Red Crow had the final say in 622
most matters pertaining to the Bloods. Yet he was 648
not known as an orator and preferred to let his
subchiefs speak for him. When he went east in [484]
1885 to meet with government officials in Ottawa,
he was accompanied by One Spot, then assistant
head chief. These two Bloods were part of a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 238-C]
[P. 236-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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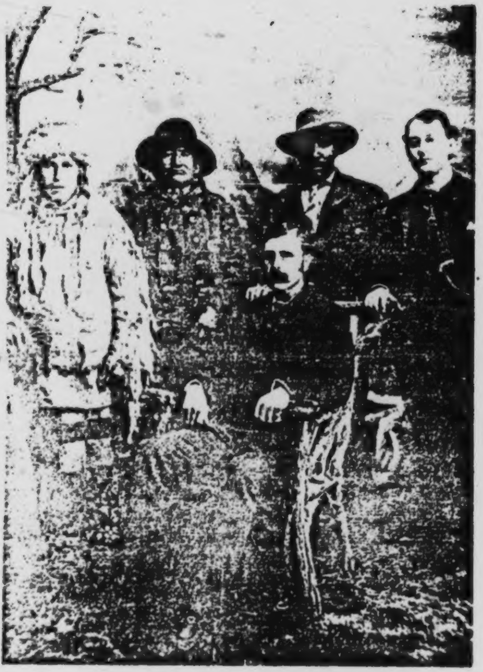

Important men on the Blood Reserve around 1886. From left to right: the chief, One Spot; the head chief, Red Crow; interpreter Dave Mills; missionary Cowan; and, in the chair, agent Pocklington. (Glenbow Archives)

[797]

[p.238.B]

622 Another of Red Crow's trusted spokesmen was old White Calf, who was a minor chief and a renowned warrior. He has sometimes been referred to as the war chief of the Bloods, although war for our People in the Old Days was too much of a personal affair to have much use for an official war chief. Whoever assembled and led one or more men on a raid was considered a war chief.

Our Old Man told this story about White Calf as a spokesman:

> 657 871 *The agent went around to have all the People put their kids in school. Long-Nosed Crow* [Robert Wilson] *was the interpreter and another government man was along. They went to see the head chief, Red Crow, who told them, "White Calf will speak for me." When White Calf showed up, the agent said, "Well, we came to ask that every family give up one child to go to school." White Calf and Red Crow discussed what should be done. Finally, White Calf said, "Yes, we will do what you ask. But now that we have satisfied you, you must do something for me." Wilson relayed this to the agent and the government man, and they agreed to return the favor. "All right," White Calf told them, "Since I am a bachelor, and our Chief Woman* [Queen Victoria] *is also a bachelor, I want you to make the arrangements so that she will be my mate." Wilson had begun to translate White Calf's request, but when he figured out its ending he simply shook his head and said that he couldn't translate such a disloyal request.*

871 177 The first group of students was sent to St. Paul's Anglican School. For a while, the Old Man was among them. As time went on, schooling became more strictly enforced until virtually every child was placed in a boarding school to be "properly raised and educated." The training began with a haircut and a ban on speaking Blackfoot. The fragile Spirit of the Old Ways was pretty well broken in the minds of most of the reserve's

party spent the day hauling hay to Fish Creek, 682
where the Mounted Police had their horses. At 837
lunchtime Charcoal also complained of a headache and went back home.

Charcoal timed his arrival in the camp quite 682
well—his wife was gone, and so was her horse. He
took along one of his rifles and went out to search 684
for her. He saw his wife's horse tied to a tree. He dismounted and quietly went up to surprise the pair as they were making love in the bushes. He shot Medicine Pipe Stem once. The bullet was said to have gone through the eye, leaving no trace when the eyelid closed over it. Charcoal took his wife back to camp with him, and she said nothing about the incident to anyone.

Charcoal feared punishment by the white man's law so he prepared to leave the reserve. (According to our old customs, he was justified in his shooting. The payment of some horses and goods to the dead man's family would have settled the issue.) One evening he rode past the 682
home of the store-owner and farm instructor, McNeill, and shot at him through a window. [683]
McNeill was not liked by all our People, and it is said that he and Charcoal had feuded some time before. His shot injured McNeill.

Charcoal went back to his family and told his wives to pack up their camp. He took along his mother-in-law, his daughter, and his two sons. They headed west toward the Rocky Mountains.

In the meantime, Medicine Pipe Stem's body 682
had been found, and the Mounted Police soon 657●
connected the murder with McNeill's shooting and Charcoal's hasty departure. They quickly got on his trail.

The Mounted Police found Charcoal's camp in a hidden meadow at the foot of the Rocky Mountains. They were greeted with a round of rifle fire. By the time the police managed to crawl up to Charcoal's lodge, they found only his old mother-in-law and his daughter inside. Charcoal, meanwhile, had gone around the other way to make his escape, along with his wives and sons. In

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

the process they captured some of the police 682
horses and stampeded the rest. 657

With the Mounties left behind on foot, Charcoal and his group headed north on fresh horses and found sanctuary in the south end of the Porcupine Hills, the country of the North Piegans. They built a sturdy brush lodge for shelter, since they had lost their tipi along with the mother-in-law. For some time the group remained hidden and was not discovered. However, after [685] Charcoal had killed several cows on nearby ranches and stolen horses from the Piegans, his presence in the area was suspected. The Mounties closed in after a shoot-out he had with one Piegan who had caught him stealing horses. No one was injured. At this point Charcoal's wives took the boys and returned home to the Blood Reserve.

The Mounties, led by Sergeant Wilde, trailed Charcoal in the area west of present-day Pincher Creek. On a cold winter day in November, they found his fresh camp along Beaver Creek. The sergeant instructed his men, "Shoot if he doesn't stop." They plowed through the deep snow and finally spotted him in the distance. Everyone's horses were too tired to catch up to him except for the sergeant's. As he rode alongside of Charcoal and demanded his surrender, Charcoal pulled back the hammer of his rifle and shot the Mountie off his horse. Another bullet in the forehead ended the career of Sergeant Wilde, and brought much local sentiment against Charcoal.

Charcoal took the sergeant's horse and rifle and went on. One of the dead sergeant's Piegan scouts followed on Charcoal's horse. In a while he met up with a white rancher, a former Mountie, who joined the Piegan in his chase. Just before dark they came close, but Charcoal's close rifle shots made them reconsider the importance of their effort. Charcoal got away in the night.

Charcoal then apparently made several visits [431]
to the camps of his People, who supplied him
with food and moccasins. They pitied him, even [687]

[p. 281-8]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
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Blood

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Pretty Wolverine Woman, about twenty years after Charcoal was hanged and her lover was killed. (Joe Young Pine Collection)

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though they knew the Mounties would jail them for giving him help. In fact, Charcoal's two brothers had already been jailed, along with their families, in a police effort to force Charcoal to surrender. One of the brothers was very ill, so the other brother asked the police to release him. Instead of releasing the ill brother, they kept him and both families. They let the healthy one go and told him that the rest would be freed when Charcoal was brought in. 682 657 [687]

Thus Charcoal was overpowered and turned

[p. 282-A]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

in to the police by his own People. The following 682
March, 1897, Charcoal was hanged for the mur- 657
der of Sergeant Wilde. He was not convicted of
the murder of Medicine Pipe Stem, because there
was not enough evidence to prove his guilt.

HOW SPIDER GOT HIS NAME

The finest dancer in the memory of most of our 535
People was a man named Spider, who died a few 554
years back. He was not known for having much
interest in our sacred ceremonies, or for having
fancy clothes like eagle headdresses and buckskin
suits. Yet he was always perfectly groomed, kept [302]
his face and hair painted, wore pleasing clothing,
and carried an oblong mirror in one hand while
he danced (a custom among many Grass
Dancers).

Spider's favorite dance shirt was made from 535
green wool cloth. It had strips of beadwork on the [292]
arms and over the shoulders, like a buckskin shirt
but more subtle. This shirt was originally given to [431]
our uncle, Atsitsina, by a Sioux man. Atsitsina
gave the shirt to his brother, Jack Low Horn, who
later gave it to his relative, Spider. Spider was
buried in that shirt. He usually used yellow paint [302]
to cover his face and bangs, which he wore
straight-up, over his forehead, in the style of the
Crows. Mrs. Walters wrote that she saw Spider [292]
dance during the social dance at a Sun Dance
Encampment, and that he wore a "buckskin outfit colored green, with wide bands of lavender and
green beadwork and matching moccasins. . . . In
one hand he held an oblong mirror about fifteen
inches long, with a hand loop that also had green
and lavender colors on it. With his mirror held
stiffly downward and his other hand on his hip,
he drifted around that circle like a bit of down.
His feet seemed scarcely to touch the ground.
Even the Indians burst into applause." At that
time, in the early 1930s, he was sixty-five years
old. His other name was Long Hair; he never cut [553]
his hair.

[p. 282-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

The head wife adopted her grandson, Harry Shade, after his own mother passed away. The Old Man later adopted Harry and raised him. Harry Shade said that Crow-Spreads-His-Wings was the only doctor among our People who was ever heard of being threatened with imprisonment if he continued his practice. This happened around 1921. A woman had an infected breast and Crow-Spreads-His-Wings doctored her and gave her some strict instructions, which she did not follow. Shortly after his visit the woman died. Authorities made an autopsy and ran laboratory tests on the infected part to check for poisoning from improperly used medicines. They found nothing, but the agent and a Mounted Policeman came out to his house and told him he would go

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[597]

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Shot-on-Both Sides about 1940. (Arnold Lupson)

[p.285-A]

to jail if he was heard doctoring again. Apparently 756
the threat had no effect to speak of, and the agent 177
never came back to carry it out. 657●

SHOT-ON-BOTH-SIDES

It is difficult for a head chief to satisfy all the 622
People in his tribe, but old Shot-on-Both-Sides
must have done so. The Old People of today have
only good memories of him. He was born in 1874
and succeeded his father, Crop-Eared Wolf, as
head chief in 1913, a position he held until his
death in 1958. His son, Jim, succeeded him.

Some of our Old People refer to Shot-on- 622
Both-Sides by his father's name, Crop-Eared 551
Wolf, which he once used, and by his old-age 553

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 286-B]

575
291
142
302
301

Long-Time-Pipe-Woman, wife of Head Chief Shot-on-Both-Sides.

did a ceremony with his Beaver Bundle and put 727
the scalp inside. I don't know what became of [778]
that scalp, because when I got his Beaver Bundle, many years later, it was not there anymore. I still have that Beaver Bundle.

Unfortunately, the war party did not end as 727
well as it seems at this point. Red Crow soon
showed up in the camp and talked to my uncle 657●
and then both of them talked with me. Red Crow 177
said that the Mounties were looking for us and that it would be best if I turned myself in. I went with Red Crow, and he took me to the agent, whose name was Pocklington. The Mounties had a two-wheeled Red River cart, like the Crees used, and they chained me into it for my trip to the stockade at Fort MacLeod. As we crossed the Kootenai River [Waterton River], the high water almost knocked the cart over and I thought that I was going to be drowned. Somehow we made it across safely. Young Pine and his partner also turned themselves in, and soon joined me at the
stockade. The interpreter there was Bear Child [191]
[Jerry Potts], and he tried to scare me by telling me that I was going to be sent to the prison in Saskatchewan. He told me that I was crazy for going on a war party, since everyone knew that we were gone and the police and soldiers were all looking for us.

We were in the MacLeod stockade for about four weeks, during which time they gave me the job of waiting on the tables in the dining room. Finally they took the three of us to the courtroom. The Indian commissioner was there, and some Mounted Police officers, and Red Crow with some other chiefs. The agent stood up and spoke for us and the judge decided that there was no evidence to keep us in jail. They weren't sure about the killing, or who did it, and none of the horse owners had complained to the authorities about their losses. They gave us some rations and sent us back home.

The next day we had a really big victory 727
dance at the Blood camps. There was so much excitement and shooting that some of our horses stampeded out of the camp.

[P. 299-B]

excitement and shooting that some of our horses 000
stampeded out of the camp. I became a member 796
of the Crazy Dogs Society at that time. I stayed 177
with my relatives at my uncle's lodge until the 657●
Medicine Lodge ceremony, when we had a lot
of trouble with the Mounties. The Mounties [575]
wanted to arrest Calf Robe again, because he had threatened them with a gun the first time they arrested him. Calf Robe decided to make up for not fighting in the battle with us, so he fought the Mounties in the Medicine Lodge, and the Mounties got beat up pretty bad. And that is the end of my story.

THE FIGHT IN THE MEDICINE LODGE IN 1889

The incident in which the Mounties tried to arrest Calf Robe inside the Medicine Lodge is talked about by our Old People as "the time we had a war with the Red Coats." Some of our People thought that the Mounties came to stop our men from performing the self-torture ceremony.

Two men underwent that ceremony in 1889, Heavy Head and Tough Bread. However, the Mounties did not arrive until the day after this took place.

Here is how Grandma AnadaAki remembers 796
her stepfather Heavy Head's story of his self- 785
torture and what followed:

My father said that he went through the [292]
torture barefooted and without any clothes except a breechcloth. They cut him in the tipi where the holy woman stays. He said that other men were usually cut in the Medicine Lodge. He said that somebody told him to ask for deep cuts, so that
they would not cut very deep. They painted him [302]
all over with sacred white clay, and designs were [778]
painted on his face with red paint and black
paint. They tied sage around his wrists and his [824]

ankles. When they cut him, he said that he felt 776
like his heart was being cut out of his body. His 785
body was all bloody by the time they got him [824]
fixed up. They even cut his back and tied a shield
to it.

From the holy woman's tipi he was made to [535]
dance to the Medicine Lodge. The wind blew on [152]
his wounds and caused him so much pain that
he cried all the way there. When he got inside he [782]
hugged the Center Pole and prayed, then he
leaned back on the ropes that somebody tied
from the top of the Pole to his chest. He leaned [533]
back real hard and jumped up and down and
sideways while the drummers sang a song. He
said that he jumped real hard because the pain
was so bad that he wanted to tear the ropes off
fast, but they didn't tear out. Black Eagle took
a stick and hit the rope hard and the skin broke
on that side. But my dad stopped him from hitting
the other side because of the pain. Big Wolf
grabbed him by his hair and pulled him back so
hard that the other side broke. Black Eagle was [555]
counting some coups so that he could cut the
loose skin off my dad's body. He cut the skin off [752]
and he put gunpowder on the wounds. After that
my dad was sent away to sleep and look for a vision.
That was when they had the riot inside the
Medicine Lodge.

My father said that he walked westward from
the camp until he came to the Belly River where
he slept on top of a cutbank. He could hardly
sleep that night from all the pain of his wounds.
The next day he was walking around by the river
when his relatives found him. They warned him
not to walk back into the middle of the trouble at
the Medicine Lodge. By the time they all got 796
back home together the trouble was over and the 657●
People were packing up their camps to go home. 177
The men were angry and had their guns all ready
in case the Mounties came back to fight again.
Some of the Mounties had gone into the Medicine
Lodge to arrest old Calf Robe while the
men were just in there telling war stories. Those

police had no right to walk into the Holy Lodge 796
that way. They were crazy. By the time they left 657
they didn't have their guns anymore and some 177
of their clothes were torn from them. They didn't take Calf Robe with them either. That is what I remember about my stepfather's story—Heavy Head.

Mounted Police Superintendent Steele wrote 114
a lengthy report to his superior about the last real war party and about the fight in the Medicine Lodge in 1889. Although Steele was known for being a gentleman, his views about our People and our Old Ways was typical of the white set-
tlers. Listen to some of his comments: [127]

> *The Blood and Piegan Indians, whose re-* 657
> *serves are located in this district [Fort MacLeod],* 177
> *have given considerable trouble and annoyance*
> *during the past year, and unless some great* 273
> *change takes place, it will not be lessened. The members of both tribes take every opportunity of procuring liquor of any description on every possible occasion. In fact, they even indulge in smuggling it across the line for their own use. This and horse stealing are the main causes of all our trouble with them; it seems impossible for them to resist indulging their apparent natural inclinations in this direction.*
>
> *On the 2nd of July the "Sun Dance" com-* 657
> *menced on the Blood Reserve. On the 4th, a con-* 177
> *stable from the Stand Off detachment then on*
> *duty at the Sun Dance reported to me at Mac-* 796
> *Leod, that Sergeant Hilliard and two constables had tried to arrest an Indian, "Calf Robe," for pointing a gun at constable Zinkham, when trying to arrest him for horse stealing some time previous, and as the Sun Dance was then in progress, some 200 or 300 of the Bucks assisted in rescuing "Calf Robe" from the police. On the following morning I ordered Inspector Wood, in command of a small party, to proceed to Stand Off and investigate the matter; he returned the following*

day, bringing with him several of the Indians who 657
participated in obstructing the police in doing 177
their duty. They were placed in the guard room. [796]

On the 8th of July, the five Indians that were placed in custody were brought before me and Inspector Wood, for their preliminary trial, Indian Agent Pocklington appearing for the defence. They were committed for trial at the next sitting of the Supreme Court, which was held on the 5th August, Indian Agent Pocklington and their chief, "Red Crow," going their bail pending the sitting of the court. The Crown prosecutor thought before the trial came off that there had been a good case made out, that the Indians had no cause or right to assault the police, even had there been no arrest warrants issued; but the judge . . . threw out the case. . . . In making this arrest, the non-commissioned officer was not in possession of a warrant, but I consider he acted perfectly right, there being so many bad Indians wanted at times that unless a man takes every chance offered he will likely lose his man altogether, as they give very few opportunities for arresting.

The impression has gone abroad that the Sun 657
Dance is a religious festival; it may have been 177
regarded as such at one time, but the experience 796
of nearly all those whose dealings and occupations have brought them in close contact with the Indians, and who are well acquainted with their manners and customs, do not now consider it as such. It has degenerated into a gathering merely for the purpose of using up presents of tea, tobacco, &c., given them by their agents or begged from their white neighbors. It is a festival that should be discouraged; it has the effect of reviving too vividly old associations. Old warriors take this occasion of relating their experiences of former days, counting their scalps and giving the numbers of horses they were successful in stealing. This has a pernicious effect on the young men; it makes them unsettled and anxious to emulate the deeds of their forefathers.

[p.301-B]

It was reported to me on the 30th of April that a party of fifteen Blood Indians had left for the Crow Reserve in the United States for the purpose of stealing horses. Sergeant Hilliard . . . got the names of the Indians absent from the reserve. . . . On the 22nd I received a telegram from R. S. Tingley, of Big Sandy, Montana, to the effect that some of our Indians were stealing horses in that vicinity, and requesting me to take action. . . . On the 4th of May I received another message from R. S. Tingley that they had stolen seventeen saddle horses from him. I immediately dispatched Inspector Macpherson and all available non-commissioned officers and men to intercept, if possible, this band of Indians, and also notified all outposts. 657 721

On the 7th of May I received a further dispatch from . . . Helena, Montana, stating that nine Bloods had run off forty horses belonging to the Crows. . . . I also received a telegram from . . . Fort Assiniboine, U.S., that nine Bloods had passed through the Bear Paw Mountains, having stolen stock belonging to the Crow Indians in their possession.

Several rumours came in from the reserve, brought in by Indians who claimed to have seen "Prairie Chicken Old Man's" party, and who reported that they were all killed by Gros Ventres in the Bear Paw Mountains.

On the 16th Inspector Macpherson's detachment captured the "Bee," who was one of the party, and sent him in here.

On the 18th he sent in "Hind Gun" together with "Young Pine" and the "Scout," who by the advice of the chiefs gave themselves up to the Indian Agent. . . .

"Young Pine" made a confession regarding the trip, and stated that the party comprised five Bloods and one South Piegan, and that on the Big Horn at the Crow Agency they drove off about 100 head of horses, the most of which were very poor and dropped along the trail. When returning on the second day they were surprised by a

large party of Gros Ventres, who commenced 657
shooting at them . . . they firing in return, saw 721
some of the enemy drop; they continued to retreat, and noticing two Indians in the trail in front of them, they pursued them and killed one of them. . . . They however, arrived on the Blood Reserve with five of the stolen horses and one stray horse. . . . Owners for these horses have not yet been found. . . . They are at present running with our herd here.

CRAZY CROW'S STORY

In conclusion to the story of the last real war 127
party, let's hear Crazy Crow's version as told in a 212
letter to Mrs. Walters by his daughter, Mrs. Ethel
Tailfeathers. The letter accompanied Crazy [439]
Crow's yellow feather mascot, which was sold to Mrs. Walters upon Crazy Crow's death in the 1930s.

I was only 16 when I went on my first warpath. 883
My father was not very keen on my going so 721
young. He would say, "Son, there is plenty of time for you." But my spirit of adventure was too
strong. I would not listen. So my father invited [887]
one of the very old timers of the camp to come
and pray, paint, advise and impart his blessing on [726]
me. He sang the war song as he was tying the [789]
eagle feathers and dipped them in his yellow war
paint and tied them on my head; all the while [237]
praying that the mascot on my hair would keep [533]
me from all harm of the enemy and bring me
success in raids among other tribes. [301]

When we go out to raid we do not set out to kill, but to raid and only kill in self defense. We put on our best regalia so that if we get killed, the enemy will have something worthwhile. I went with an older friend [Calf Robe]; he would look after me as he had experience. I rode on a gray horse and the enemy was on a pinto. I especially wanted a pinto as a pinto is dear to the heart of an Indian. It was worth risking a life to secure

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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Charlie Goodrider dressed in his finest, as he often was.

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came involved in any shooting, the Duncan 554
Shade Gang was respected by the People of the
reserve. But it happened that they were eventu- [556]
ally traced back to the Blood Reserve when one of 657●
the gang was discovered selling a stolen horse
with a recognized brand. The Mounted Police 177
brought several of the white ranchers to the reserve to look over the horse herds; they found many horses they'd been missing. A few of the gang were actually captured by the Mounties.

[p.303-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Hungry Crow was sent to the penitentiary in 657
Rocky Mountain House for a five-year term. 177
Black Rabbit was captured across the line and
sent to the Deer Lodge Penitentiary. Later, when
he was released, he was given enough money to
take a train to Browning, Montana. From there [721]
he started to walk home, until he saw a camp of
covered wagons on his way. He waited until dark,
then went to the camp and got himself some four-legged
transportation. Shot-on-Both-Sides was
captured and then released on the recognition of
his father, who was head chief. Crazy Crow was
captured later and sent to the penitentiary for six
months. While he was gone it is said that his 586
brother, Plain Woman, ended up with his wife. [593]
When Crazy Crow came back and heard about it,
he said, "That is all right. She is not the only
woman on the reserve." He found himself a new
wife and stayed on good terms with his first one.

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Some Scenes from the Past

EARLY DAYS

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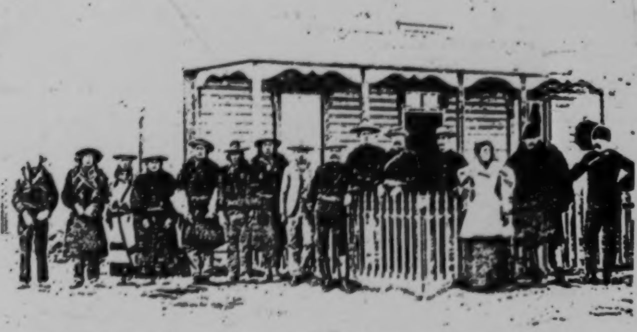

Northwest Mounted Police headquarters at Stand Off in 1894. Police Scouts from left to right: Calf Tail; Black Eagle; Big Rib; Many White Horses (later a holy man known as Backfaine); Tail Feathers; Many Mules; and Bear's Test or Meat Mouth. Next to Meat Mouth stands an interpreter, then Sergeant Chris Hilliard, who kept a diary of his experiences as a Mountie. The older man with the buffalo coat is Mounted Police Superintendent Steele. (Steele & Co.)

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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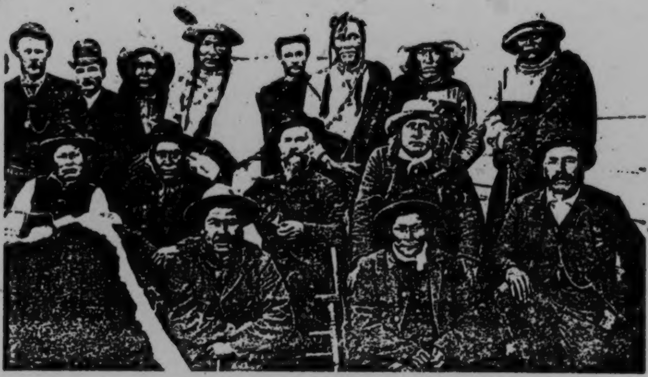

Bloods and Piegan visitors at the Blood Ration House in 1881. In the foreground is the Negro interpreter, Dave Mills. Next to him is Running Rabbit. Center row, from left to right: Bull Backfat; Old Eagle Ribs; the agent; Four Horns, a South Piegan; and Jack Miller, or Three Bulls, a half-breed from the South Piegans. Back row: Two agency employees; Eagle Head; an unknown man; another employee; Last Gun—nephew of Running Wolf and stepson of the South Piegan head chief, White Calf; then Hind Bull; and finally, Blackfoot Old Woman, or Ermine Horse, who was then a minor chief. (Glenbow Archives)

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[493]

Old agency at the north end of the reserve, along the Belly River. This is where the People used to come to get their rations, their treaty money, and their bad news about the latest in government plans and restrictions to their life. Tipi camps, dances, and horse races were a regular part of treaty payment days. Few of the men came to the old agency during ration days—the women brought their family's ration cards and loaded the supplies on travois or in wagons. (Glenbow Archives)

[p.306]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

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● [657]

Spectators at a dance in Fort MacLeod, in 1907. In the foreground is Black Looking, with a Black-Covered War Pipe slung across his back. He was arrested by the Mounties for horse raiding, but he escaped from the Fort MacLeod stockade and hid in Montana for several years, until his "crime" was forgiven. Behind him is Calf Robe, who also has a Black-Covered Pipe across his back. It might have been a war pipe or a society pipe. In the foreground is a member of the Dog Society. (Glenbow Archives)

[P. 311-C]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

She speaks of her early marriage: 584

Yes, I was still running amongst the girls. I was still small and naughty. My father told me one day, "You will get married. There is a boy that just came out of school. He is a gentle boy, so he will be kind to you." [156] [581]

I was very proud that I was getting married. I should have been educated first, but I obeyed my father to get married so that someone would look after me. He was getting ill then.

My mother sewed moccasins for me to get married in. When winter came, it was on Christmas, they got me my horse and they tied a travois to him. I had my bedding and I had two parfleches; one was full of moccasins and one was full of dried meat. Those that are called pillows [backrests] were loaded, too, and some blankets were put on top. I rode on one horse and there were two more horses with many blankets tied on them; they were all presents from my folks. I don't remember everything about it, because I was small. I don't know how many more horses were sent later; my husband traded off some of them for cows. 584 583 [425] [231]

I wore a buckskin dress. My leggings were beaded, and I wore a fancy blanket with a safety pin in front. My shawl was a fancy woolen blanket. We arrived at the old place where we used to get our rations. An interpreter lived there. His name is Young Scabby Bull, a black white-man [the Negro, Dave Mills]. My mother told me to stay in there for a while so that she could go and get rations. This was ration day. 584 [292] [657]

So I sat there. Then a woman came in and kissed me and said we were going. I was hoping to see my mother, but I never saw her again that day. She took me out and put me on the horse with the travois. So we started off again. The woman led the two other horses. She was on horseback, too.

We came to a house. It was the house of my deceased brother, Bull Shields. A man lived there 584 574

[p.340-A]

THE SUN DANCE.

121 796 184 In our earlier paper upon the bundles of the Blackfoot, we have concerned ourselves with ceremonial functions in which the ownership and chief responsibility, in theory, rested in a single individual. We come now to an affair initiated, it is true, by the owner of the natoas bundle, but yet a composite of other rituals and functions, each of which has a definite place in a program carried out by the whole tribal organization. The only trace of a similar tribal participation is in the now almost extinct tobacco-planting ceremonies conducted by the beaver owners; but here there was no complex of other unrelated ceremonies and functions. In short, the sun dance was for the Blackfoot a true tribal festival, or demonstration of ceremonial functions, in which practically every important ritual owner and organization had a place. Nevertheless, there were certain rituals peculiar to it which gave it its character.

128 796 Since the plan of this section is to give an ethnological presentation of the Blackfoot sun dance, rather than a logically unfolding description of the ceremony as seen at a specified time, we shall present the general program now and take up later a somewhat analytical detailed discussion of the various phases of the ceremony. By this method, we shall be able to concentrate our attention upon a single ceremonial concept without the distraction arising from contemporaneous and intrusive procedures based upon other concepts, for as we shall see, this sun dance is a true composite.
[657] [121] The following schedule is not given as the one observed by the writer, but as the one regarded as proper and believed to have been followed before the various divisions of the Blackfoot were under the complete domination of the Canadian and United States governments.

PREPARATION PERIOD.

796 After making a vow to purchase a sun dance bundle, the woman and her husband make the necessary arrangements and perform the prescribed rites.
[203] This is an indefinite period. At the approach of summer, the invitation tobacco is sent to all the bands and the camp circle is formed.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

128 114 tragic event such as *Apikuni* had himself witnessed, but he related "Cut-Nose" in the first person as a vivid literary device. He was always intent on verifying the facts which he reported and never ceased his attempts to clarify in his own mind the smallest detail of every adventure which he chronicled.

0657 731 [114] Schultz was, like all humans, not wholly free from prejudice. He was not infallible and never pretended that he was. At times he drew mistaken conclusions from the incomplete facts at his disposal—most conspicuously, perhaps, in his estimate of Major Young, agent on the Blackfoot reservation during the "Starvation Year" of 1883–84. Recent research seems to prove that Young attempted to obtain from Washington the help required to save his charges from starvation. He may not, therefore, have been quite the dishonest, lying wretch that he was painted in *My Life as an Indian*. However, my own inquiries among the Blackfeet on the reservation at Browning plainly show that Major Young was regarded as anything but a sympathetic and understanding "father" to his Indian children. They may have had their natural prejudices against the white overlord who tyrannically controlled their destiny in those awful months of 1883–84, but, in view of the fact that some five hundred of them died for want of food, I am convinced that such prejudices were based on more than mere misunderstanding. Realizing that there still remain marked differences of opinion of this subject—sometimes influenced by whatever source a person has consulted—I should like personally to re-examine all those faded letters directed by Major Young to Washington before coming to positive conclusions on the relation of the Major to his charges.

128 There are historical facts in this book which have been, and will be, disputed by other authors. Thus, notably, in Chapter 2, "Buffalo Robes," Chief White Calf is represented as having been unaware of the two executive orders which deprived the Pikunis of their lands between the Yellowstone and Marias rivers. And in Chapter 24, "A Bride for Morning Star," mention is made of the story of Running Eagle, the famous Pikuni woman-warrior. Schultz places her warring activities "in the very long ago"; but another view places Running Eagle's exploits after 1856, the time of Schultz's story.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

CHAPTER TWO

Buffalo Robes

LAST TRADING CAMP OF THE PIKUNIS (1879–80)[1]

000 FORT CONRAD consisted of two long rows of connecting log buildings paralleling the river and about fifty feet apart, with a stable and corral running from one to the other at their west end. In the south row were the office, trade room, warehouse, and one living room.
114 The remainder of the living quarters was in the north row. In the summer of 1879 these were occupied by Kipp and his wife, Double-Strike Woman; their adopted children, William and Maggie Fitzpatrick; Kipp's mother, Earth Woman, and her close and constant companion, Crow Woman; Hiram D. Upham, clerk, and his wife, Lance Woman; Frank Pearson and Charles Rose, half-blood employees; and my wife, Fine Shield Woman,[2] and myself, I fallen sadly from grace. Two years before I had obtained permission from my mother and my guardian to go west for a buffalo hunt, with the distinct understanding that I would return in the autumn to continue my studies at Peekskill Military Academy, preparatory for entering West Point. But I had broken my word; the wild, free
361 life of the West had so entranced me that I could not go back.

In this summer of 1879, the Pikunis, by our Indian Bureau mis-
131 named Blackfeet, were camped at and around their agency on Badg-
●[657] er Creek, thirty miles to the west of us. Their brother tribes, the
[101] Bloods and the Blackfeet, were in Alberta—the former on Belly

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[113] [1] Published in *The Great Falls Tribune* (April 7, 1935).

[2] *Mutsi-Awotan-Ahki,* the Nätahki of James W. Schultz, *My Life as an Indian* (Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907).

000 up one of our ever-ready six-shooters under it, and stood waiting for whatever was to happen. In came Sacred Talker, stared angrily at Long Whip, and then said to me: "When I first arrived here, I left a purse with you that contained one hundred and three dollars. I want it."

I thought to myself: "Here's where he will put one over on me." I stepped to the safe, took out the long, shabby purse, gave it a flip, and showered the floor with one-dollar bills that had never been wrinkled. One by one I took them up, one hundred and three of them, put them back in the purse, and handed it to him. Without a word he turned to leave; at the door he turned, stopped, glared at Long Whip, and said to him: "I shall see you again."

"Yes, I will probably meet you in hell," Long Whip answered.

"Well, that is said to be a central point," Sacred Talker replied, and with that he was gone.

657 Late in August we got an unexpected setback to our bright prospects of another big winter trade. The Blackfeet and the Bloods suddenly decided to return to their Canadian reservations, in order to receive the five dollars per person annually due them from that government. They had left there the previous summer before the payment was due and now had two payments coming to them. Kipp had a long talk with Crow Big Feet and Running Rabbit. He urged them to remain where they were, in the midst of the buffalo herds. What good would ten dollars per person be, he asked. In a few days the money would be spent, and then all would suffer from want of food. Here they would have plenty of meat and robes constantly to sell.

To which Crow Big Feet sadly replied: "Raven Quiver, that you have said to us is true. I do not want to go back up north, nor does our friend here, Running Rabbit. But for once we are powerless against our children. All they can think of is ten round pieces for each of them to spend. They will not listen to us. We have to go."

000 Go they did. Well, we still had the Crees, also Riel and his French-Crees. We would, anyhow, get some robes.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Spring," of the Blackfeet. It bubbles up in a deep recess in a ledge of 312
dark, conglomerate rock. About two feet high in the rear of the 103
recess, the roof slopes upward and outward at an angle of about twenty degrees, and, from the height of a small deer or antelope to that of a mature buffalo bull, it is as smooth and lustrous as polished mahogany from the various animals' rubbing their backs against it through how many centuries of time. A most interesting place. I visited it several times during my brief outing there with Guardipee.

With the help of the cook, we were nearly two days in taking the hides from our twenty-four cows and properly pegging them out to dry. It was hard work. It quenched for the time my desire to make another exciting run of a herd.

After the Missouri froze over, early in December, Guardipee 103
hunted north of it, out toward the Little Rockies, the *Mahkwiyi* 133
Stukists, "Wolf Mountains," of the Blackfoot tribes. Returning to [136]
our post one day with a wagonload of cow buffalo hides, he mentioned that he had found, in the valley of Rock Creek and close up
to the mountains, two dead elk, their antlers interlocked. I thought 000
that the antlers would be well worth having, so went out with Eli to get them, my conveyance a one-horse, homemade sled. Strange enough, we found that the wolves had not touched the two elk. They had fought, and inextricably interlocked their antlers in a grassy park close to the creek. There they milled around, unable to graze or go to the near, murmuring stream to drink, until, after days of horrible suffering, they had fallen from exhaustion and slowly died.

We cut off their heads, thoroughly cleaned them of brains and meat. At our post, six men tried to pull the two sets of antlers apart but failed. In the following spring I sent them downriver and on to my friend C. Hart Merriam, and he, in turn, presented them to the Smithsonian Institution.

It was a severe setback to our prospects for another big winter 657 ●
trade, when, late in this summer of 1881, the Blackfeet and most of the Bloods returned to their reservations in Canada. Turned their backs upon our buffalo country in order to obtain the annual five dollars per person due from their treaty with their Grandmother, the Queen.

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

CHAPTER THREE

No More Buffalo

INVULNERABLE CALF SHIRT (1882–83)[1]

It was in July, 1882, that we abandoned our trading post at Carroll 439
on the Missouri and returned to our home post, Fort Conrad, at the Fort Benton–Fort Macleod wagon road crossing of the Marias River. The buffalo herds were practically exterminated, and we were sorely grieved over their passing. Forever ended was our exciting, profitable trade with the Indians for their robes and furs.

Our group at Fort Conrad at that time was Joseph Kipp, its owner; 114
his wife; William and Maggie Fitzpatrick; Red Eyes, Takes-Gun-at-Night, and Comes-with-Rattles; Hiram D. Upham with his wife and daughter Rosa; Kipp's Mandan mother, Earth Woman, and her old friend and companion, Crow Woman; Eli Guardipee and wife, Flag Woman, adopted daughter of Crow Woman; my wife, Fine Shield Woman, and I. The men's wives were all Pikunis, better
known to whites as Piegans or Blackfeet. However, there was a Cana- [101]
dian tribe of that name, which, though speaking the same language and often intermarrying with the Pikunis, was a distinct tribe of the Blackfoot Confederacy.

Having no more buffalo to hunt, the Pikunis were now en- 224
camped around their agency on Badger Creek, fifty miles west of [657]
us, and living upon deer, elk, and antelope in their vicinity. A few [361]
lodges of them, close friends and relatives, came down to camp near us and hunt. They reported that game was already becoming scarce

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[1] First published in *The Great Falls Tribune* (November 11, 1936).

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

000 Pickett—all of us—were astounded by the crazy bullwhacker's atrocious deed. We cursed him, told him that we would take him to Fort Benton and turn him over to Sheriff Healy. He stole a saddle and horse from Pickett that night, and, as there was no snow on the ground, it was impossible for us to trail him. We never heard of him thereafter. Kipp's mother, Earth Woman, and Crow Woman took pity on the grieving widow, kept her with them for a month or more, when she took up with Pickett. Some years later, he sold his bull train and with her settled on the Crow Indian reservation. Some of their descendents are prosperous ranchers down there, I am told.

221 Came the spring of 1883, and again there was considerable travel
136 on the road. In the New-Grass Moon (April) a few lodges of our
●[657] Pikuni friends and relatives returned to summer beside us and to
hunt deer and antelope. They reported that their agent, *Ahsi Tupi*
("Young Person," Major Young) had no food for the tribe, and
that they were beginning to starve, having killed off nearly all of
[231] the game up there. And, too, their horse herds were becoming infected with a skin disease, something like a smallpox, that took off
their hair.

721 We had a herd of about 150 horses, ranging across the river from
the fort. Our Indian friends grazed their small herds in daytime up
the Dry Fork of the Marias and, ever fearful of war parties, kept
them in our large corral of nights. The Dry Fork joined the river
at the lower end of our big bottom just below our fort. One evening
in May, Kipp suddenly decided to go to Fort Benton the next morning and sent his young brothers-in-law out to bring in a four-horse
team from the herd, so that he could make an early start. They returned at dusk, greatly excited, and reported that a war party had
stolen the herd and gone off north with it; their trail was plain in
the new grass of the plain. The news excited our friends camped
near us: Little Dog, Little Plume, Ancient Man, Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill, Bear Chief, and Kipp's close friend Jack
[726] Miller, who was visiting him. They all were brave men, heroes of
many battles with enemy tribes. Singing, donning their war clothes,

721 plainly visible in the moonlight, in no time had killed them all. They
726 had thought Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill, motionless upon
the ground, his head bleeding, to be dead. But he had soon become
conscious, and a little later, when he was able to ride, they had set
out for home.

I KILL MY FIRST MOUNTAIN GOAT (1883)[1]

103 SINCE ARRIVING in the country, I had heard much about two large,
133 beautiful lakes, called by the whites Chief Mountain lakes; by the
Blackfoot tribes *Púhktomuksi Kimiks,* "Lakes Inside." We did not
000 then know that in 1846, Father Lacombe, S. J., assisted by his faithful
guide Hugh Monroe, had set up a cross at the foot of the lower one
of the lakes and with prayer had christened them St. Mary lakes.

136 I remembered hearing John Healy remark that upon the high
mountains around them there were plenty of ibexes. That intrigued
me. I was anxious to visit the lakes, particularly to learn if the animals
described by Healy really could be ibexes, ruminants that, as I had
always understood, were found only in the Swiss Alps.

000 In October of this year of 1883 came my opportunity to do that.
One day there came down to the fort our friends Sol Abbot and
Henry Powell, and announced that, with Charlie Phemmister, Jim
Rutherford, and Oliver Sandoval, employees of Indian agent Major
Young, and Charles Carter, a trapper, they were going on a hunting
trip to Chief Mountain lakes, and would I join them? Ha! Would I!
I put my rifle, shotgun, and bedding into their wagon, and with
plenty of provisions we set out up river. We picked up Charles Carter
at Abbot's ranch, and on the following day we neared the agency,
stopped at the lodge of an Indian friend, and sent him on to notify
Phemmister, Rutherford, and Sandoval that we had arrived. (The
657 Indian Agent, Major Young, allowed no whites other than his employees upon the reservation; he gave out that he would arrest any
white trespassers, have them tried and fined in the United States
court in Helena. His reason for that we were later to learn.)

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[1] Published in *The Great Falls Tribune* (November 18, 1936).

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

No More Buffalo

I have attended the impressive ceremonies of the Tobacco Planters 797
society of the Alberta Blackfeet and the medicine-lodge rites of the 177
Alberta Bloods and the Montana Pikunis. I, for one, am glad that 178
they persist in their ancient faith. Their absolute and enthusiastic belief in it—oh, how different from the apathy of white Christian congregations.

Leaving Birch Creek, I returned to Little Dog's camp on Badger 657
Creek and sent Boy Chief to the agency to tell Rutherford and 731
Phemmister that I wanted to have a talk with them. They came long after dark, and I told them why I was there; asked them if the agent, Major Young, was doing anything toward obtaining food for his starving charges; if he had any on hand to give them.

Said Rutherford: "The old devil, he has plenty of shelled corn, brought upriver from Fort Benton, freighted out from there, but what does he do with it? Every mornin' feeds it to his chickens, the Indians standin' by, awful hungry, and lookin' on."

Said Phemmister: "He knows they're starving, but I don't believe he has written to Washington to get grub for them. What you want to do, to get a line on him, is to talk with his clerks, Ed. Garrett and Charlie Warner."

"I don't know them. Perhaps they won't give me the information I want," I said.

"We'll fix it for you to meet 'em anyhow. Come on," Rutherford offered.

We walked down to the agency. Rutherford unlocked the small gate in the stockade and relocked it after we had passed in. The log buildings formed three sides of the square. The clerks had been in bed. They lit a lamp. I was introduced to them, and when I had told them of my mission there they were plainly wary and frightened. But when I had assured them that I would keep to myself the source of what they could tell me, they talked; freely, bitterly they told of Young's cold-blooded supervision of his charges—he a prominent member of an eastern Methodist church. It was that, for some years, in his annual reports to the Secretary of the Interior, he had stated that he was civilizing the Pikunis; making self-supporting farmers of them. Ha! Civilizing them! Why, they had rarely come

657 to the agency; they had been roaming the plains, living well upon
731 the buffalo, selling buffalo robes for what they needed of white men's goods. Then, suddenly, the buffalo had been exterminated, and Young had had no supplies for the tribe; having reported that they were self-supporting, he dared not ask for help for them and so admit that he was a liar. Yes, and equally as bad as he were his two daughters, also church members. They had confiscated the few blankets remaining to be issued to the Indians and had dyed them, so obliterating the U.S.I.D. (United States Indian Department) with which they had been stamped.

On the following evening I was at home in Fort Conrad writing Grinnell a full report of my investigations on the reservation, urging him to do his utmost in behalf of the starving Pikunis. Mails were slow in those days; it was all of a month before I heard from him; he wrote that he had been in Washington interviewing the powers-that-be, showing them my report, urging that they take quick action on it. President Arthur himself had promised that good supplies of food would be sent to the tribe as soon as possible. So, anxiously, we waited to hear of their arrival. Weeks passed; months; we were learning how slowly the affairs of our government move because of its red tape. More and more families of the starving people came down
[224] to camp near us and hunt. Deer and antelope were becoming so few that they could not kill enough of them to supply their needs. We helped them as best we could with staple groceries, at considerable expense. Kipp's frugal, thrifty mother, Earth Woman, and her companion, Crow Woman, had nearly one hundred buffalo robes that they had in one way or another acquired during the last years of the herd. They had Kipp dispose of them in Fort Benton, and the nine hundred dollars worth of groceries that they received from the sale they generously doled out to their hungry Pikuni friends.

[165] Came February, and we learned that, up around the agency, some of the Pikunis were daily dying from starvation. And then it was, when we believed that all were soon to die, that we got most wonderful news from there: Fort Shaw soldiers had arrived with many wagonloads of flour, bacon, beans, and other food for the hungry ones. Beef cattle had been driven in and were being slaughtered for

them. One of Our Grandfather's chiefs had come, caused Young 657
Person (Major Young) and his daughters to leave at once, and 731
had put a new agent in his place.

We later made a count of those who had died from starvation [165]
that winter: nearly five hundred of the eighteen hundred members of the tribe had passed.[8] So ended the fourth great wrong that the Pikunis had suffered under our government. The others had been: two successive acts of confiscation of their country between the Musselshell and Marias rivers, by orders of Presidents U. S. Grant and Rutherford B. Hayes—both instances in direct violation of the duly ratified treaty which the United States had made with the tribe in 1855; and, earliest of the four, the massacre of 173 men, women, and children of the tribe by Colonel E. M. Baker and his troops on the Marias River on January 23, 1870.

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[8] In contrast to these impressions by an eyewitness of many of the events of the [113]
Starvation Winter, see Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 280–96, and Helen B. West, "Starvation Winter of the Blackfeet," *Montana: The Magazine of Modern History*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (1959), 1–19.

Schultz did not have access to Indian Bureau records. He had, however, made [14]
a thorough investigation of the plight of the Indians and had discussed it in the Blackfoot language with some of the starving people, including his own relatives by marriage. His account undoubtedly reflects contemporary beliefs and impressions observed at the time and place and was reported in sincerity and good faith.

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and color. As Lone Wolf, rather than by his English name, he is well known in the art world for his spirited paintings and bronzes of the life of the old West.

Leaving me in charge of Fort Conrad in that spring of 1884, Kipp and Hiram Upham took over the store of the trader up at the Indian agency and built a store and saloon on Birch creek, just off the reservation, and on the Agency-Choteau-Sun River stage and freight road. Placer gold had been discovered in the Sweetgrass Hills. I had considerable trade from the miners there and from freighters and others plying between Fort Benton and Fort MacLeod, but my heart was not in it. The few days that I had spent at Lakes Inside (St. Mary lakes) in the previous autumn had turned me against a sedentary life. I wanted to be up there again, climbing mountains and exploring valleys as yet untrod by white men, living upon trout, the fat meat of bighorns, deer, and elk. On his occasional visits to me to learn how I was getting on, I would tell Kipp of my longings, but always he would reply: "No, sir; you're not going up there to fool away your time. You've got a woman and a boy to support now; and I need you here. Right here you stay."

Passed the summer. Came winter, and about the only travel on the road was the bimonthly Fort Benton–Fort Macleod mail stage. Again I wrote a number of stories for *Forest and Stream*, had much correspondence with its owner and editor George Bird Grinnell, with the result that, in the spring of 1885, he wrote that he would come out in September and go with me on a trip into the Lakes Inside, the St. Mary lakes country. Kipp was glad to have me go with so important a man, and in due time, getting our friend James Dawson to take my place at Fort Conrad, I moved up to the agency to await the stranger's coming. He arrived on the mail stage—a slender, quiet, fine-appearing man of medium height; in outing clothes that showed much use; his baggage a canvas-covered bedroll, a war sack, a Sharps .45 caliber rifle, and a fly rod. No tenderfoot he, we thought, and so were not surprised when we learned that he owned a fine ranch in Wyoming and that he had been the naturalist with General Custer's Black Hills expedition in 1873.

On the evening of Grinnell's arrival, I had head chief White Calf 648

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24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

648 call a meeting of the prominent men of the Pikunis: Little Dog, Little
731 Plume, Saiyi, Running Crane, and others. They gathered in Little
● 657 Plume's lodge, and when we entered, I said to them: "I bring to
you a true friend of yours. His home is many days' travel to the east; at the edge of the Everywhere Water. When you began to starve, to die, that dreadful winter back, I wrote him about it. What did he do when he had read my letter? He dropped his work, got onto a fire-wagon, went south to Our Grandfather's many-houses town. He went straight to Our Grandfather and told him of your need; told him that you Pikunis would all die unless food, plenty of food, could soon be given you. Said Our Grandfather to him: "How can it be that my Pikuni children are starving, dying, and I not know about it?"

"Answered my friend here: 'Grandfather, it is that your little chief that you have with them, he named Young Person, would not let you know about it because he had many times written you many lies; written you that the Pikunis were following the white man's road, that they had cattle and pigs, grew potatoes and other plants to eat.'

"Said Our Grandfather: 'Too bad. Too bad. Well, they shall not starve any longer than I can get food to them.' And at once he sent for his chief of soldiers, sent for other men, told them what to do. So was it that the soldiers at Point-of-Rocks River (Sun River) brought you food; that Spotted Cap (Charles Conrad) sent you
648 many cattle. So now, my friends, you know that he here beside me and newly come is your real friend and helper."

"Yes! Yes! He is our friend." "Our powerful friend." "He saved us, he is a chief," all cried when I had finished, and one by one came forward and shook hands with Grinnell and earnestly gave him welcome. Then, briefly, he said that he was glad to be there with them, that he hoped to come to them again and again in future summers, that he had other Indian friends, particularly the Pawnees (Wolf People) with whom he had often camped and hunted buffalo.

"*Ha!* The Wolf People! Ever our enemies. You must tell us about them," said Little Plume.

[553] Said Tail-Feathers-Coming-Over-the-Hill: "Later on for that. It

them. *Ha*! At once they knew that I had the best of them with my 721
long-barreled rifle, and as I fired a fourth time they turned and fled.

Near morning of my tenth night of travel from Elk River, I came 727
to our Pikuni camp, strung out along Badger Creek above our agency. My women were to stop with my cousin, Little Dog, and his family during my absence, so I happily went into his lodge, almost shouting: "Wake up, my cousin! Wake up, my women! I am here! I have been successful: I killed a Crow! I return with four Crow horses!"

My women sprang up and hugged me, shouting: "Our man has returned! Our man has killed an enemy! Our man has taken four enemy horses! Our man, White Quiver, he is brave!"

But Little Dog did not speak until the women had quieted, and
then he said to me: "News of what you have done arrived ahead 657 ●
of you. The Crow agent wrote our agent that a Crow had been killed
and four Crow horses had been stolen, perhaps by the Pikunis. If
that proved to be true, he asked our agent to seize and hold the horses,
and he would send for them. So is it that our seizers (Indian police) [625]
are looking for your return, to take the horses, should you have them.

Hearing that, oh, how angry I was! "Are we their slaves, that the whites can do this to us?" I cried. "That we fight our enemies, raid their horse herds, is of no concern whatever to the whites."

"It is as it is. You well know that we have to obey the order of the
whites; we are too few to fight them. There is but one thing for you 696
to do if you would profit from your long, hard raid: Take your 657
four horses to the north-land and trade them to our Blood or Blackfeet relatives. And go now, at once, before our seizers begin their daily rounds."

"Yes! Go! Go at once lest our agent have you seized and put into his iron-barred-windows house," my women wailed.

"Give me food and I will go. Never shall the Crows get back these horses that I took from them," I said.

Hurriedly I ate the food that my crying women set before me, [821]
and tired, sad and angry both, was off again and facing a fierce wind- [776]
and snow-storm that Cold Maker had brought from his Always Winter Land. It was not midday when, despite the storm, I topped the

696 ridge just beyond Little River (Milk River), along which were
657 strung the piles of stones that mark the south edge of the Red Coats'[A] land. I felt relief when the stone piles were behind me: I was now free from pursuit by our seizers. Steadily I kept on, riding my powerful *Sikopi*, driving my three others as fast as I could make them travel. Night had not come when I neared the big house (fort) of Bull's Head (Colonel Macleod) and his Red Coats, and the white men's houses below it. One of the little houses was the home of my friend *Kaiyó Kos* (Jerry Potts, a Blackfoot half-blood, a noted character of the buffalo days). I decided to stop with him for the night, learn where our Blood relatives were camped, and go on to them in the morning.

Tying my horses before the house, I went in and was made welcome by his mother. Bear Child, she said, was interpreter for Bull's Head, and was with him in his big house, but would come home at night. His mother set plenty of food before me. I ate, rested, smoked. Then I went out to picket my horses for the night, but they were gone! I could hardly believe my eyes! How strange that they could be stolen right there in the many-houses (town) of the Red Coats! As I stood there worrying, looking here, there, trying to decide what to do, came Bear Child himself, all but shouting as he neared me: "White Quiver! Was it you who tied four horses here before my house?"

"Yes! And they are gone! Stolen!" I yelled.

Hugging me, his cheek against my cheek, he said: "No, not stolen. The Red Coats have them. You took them from the Crows, did you not?"

"Yes. And killed a Crow, too. But the Red Coats, they have no right to seize my takings from our enemies."

Said my friend: "It is that Bull's Head received a writing from the Crow agent. A writing describing four horses that had been stolen, probably by a war party of our tribes, and asking Bull's Head to seize and hold them for him if they appeared in this Red Coats' country."

"Oh, Bear Child!" I said. "Surely it is nothing to Bull's Head what we in the Big Knives'[B] country do. Come, let us go to him, and you

A, [Red Coats are the Royal Canadian Mounted Police--Analyst]

B, [Big Knives are the U.S. Cavalry--Analyst] interpret for me. I am sure that he will give me back the horses when I explain my taking of them." 696 657

"Well, we can try that, but not tonight, for Bull's Head is having a feast and dance in his house. So, tomorrow," he answered.

That evening, of course, I had to tell Bear Child and his mother all about my raid upon the Crows in their Elk River country, but I was not happy in doing it. And I slept but little, worrying about the horses; oh, I just could not bear losing them, particularly *Sikopi,* he so powerful, so gentle, so eager to go wherever I would guide him.

In the morning, on our way to talk with Bull's Head, I saw my horses; with many others they were in a very long, four-sided corral in front of his Big House, and two Red Coats,[A] one at each end of it, were watching that no one take them. We went into the big house. Bull's Head was sitting, smoking. He got up, smiled friendlily, strongly shook hands with me, and I knew that he liked me. At once, Bear Child interpreting for me, I told him why I had come; asked him to give me back my horses.

Said he in reply: "White Quiver, my friend, if I could have my way about it, you would have those horses right now. But I can't have my way. It is this: The big chief of the Red Coats, my chief, made an agreement with the big chief of the Big Knives.[B] It is, they say, that Indian tribes shall no longer raid one another. To that end, they have agreed to seize and return to their owners all the horses that they steal from one another. So, don't blame me for holding your horses. I have to do as my chief orders me to do. See, this is a writing that I got from the agent of the Crows five days ago. He says that a Crow was killed and four Crow horses were stolen, it is thought, by a war party from one or another of the Blackfoot tribes. The horses are: one black-and-white-spotted stallion, one yellow mare, one brown horse with white spot on forehead, and one gray horse with short tail. And he also says: 'Should these horses appear in your country, please have your Red Coats seize them, and hold safely until I can send for them.' "

With that he finished, and I just stood, seeing nothing, and so disappointed that I was sick in my stomach. Then looking at me with kind eyes, he said: "White Quiver, I have great sympathy for you

A, [Red Coats are the Royal Canadian Mounted Police--Analyst]

B, [Big Knives are the U.S. Cavalry--Analyst]

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

696 657 and your kind. I know how much you enjoy raiding your enemies, but it has to end. White men's writings travel much faster than the fastest riders can go. From now on any enemy horses that you may get upon your raids will be taken from you by the white seizers as soon as you arrive home with them."

I had no reply to make to that. I turned, went out the door, on past the big corral and the Red Coats there guarding the horses within it. Back to Bear Child's house I slowly walked, and within it sat and grieved and grieved, his mother sympathizing with me. Came night, and Bear Child returned and tried to cheer me, in vain. Then, as we were going to our couches, he asked: "Tell me, friend, what is it that you now intend to do?"

"My thoughts are all mixed. I have no plan for anything," I answered.

[787] [776] But in the night, after much prayer and after a vision that I was given by the Above Ones, I decided upon a way to get back my horses. Came morning, and I said to Bear Child: "I want you to interpret for me once more, and I want you to get Bull's Head to send you on some errand that will keep you away from here tonight. For tonight I shall get back my horses and you are not to be blamed for it."

"But you can't get them; the Red Coats watch them all night," he said.

"You do what I ask; you will be surprised," I said, and he gave in.

Again we went in to Bull's Head, sitting, smoking in his room, and I said to him: "Bull's Head, give me your hand." He held it out; I took it, pressed its palm, closed the fingers on it, and still holding it, said: "My horses; they are in your hand, but between the fingers there are places that can be opened. Bull's Head, this is to tell you that tonight I shall get back my horses." And with that I gave him his hand.

He laughed. "White Quiver, what a joker you are."

"Maybe not," I answered, hurried from the room and back down to Bear Child's house, and told his mother what I planned to do.

"Oh, but it is too dangerous; the Red Coats will probably kill you," she cried. And after a little: "Well, as you are strong-minded to do it

I will help you all I can, pray with you for your success, give you 696
the buffalo robe and rope that you need." Then soon came Bear 657 ●
Child, riding a Red Coats' horse, and entering, said that he had prevailed upon Bull's Head to send him on an errand to the North Pikunis and that he would be all night with them. And after short, serious talk with me, he left.

Came night, and long Bear Child's mother and I prayed and sang [782]
Sun's sacred songs for my success. I then cut the buffalo robe into [533]
two pieces, and with them, the rope, and last helpful words from that kind woman, I left the house. The night was very cold; the snow, ankle deep; the sky was clear, the stars brightly shining. I stole as near to the corral as was safe for me and sat down. Four Red Coats were guarding it, one at each of its corners. Every little while they would all change corners, passing one another at the center of their sides of it. They kept doing it; and when they stood at their corners they often stamped their feet and slapped their bodies, for it was
very, very cold. I had on buffalo-robe moccasins; a capote over my [291]
two shirts; two pairs of leggings; buffalo-robe gloves and cap. I was comfortable. I sat at the edge of a coulee that ran down not far from the north and long side of the corral; its bars were in the center
of its east side. I began to fear for the success of my plan. I prayed [782]
the Above Ones for help as I never had prayed before. I could see that the Red Coats were getting colder and colder. At last, one of the two at the upper end of the corral ran down into the coulee, built a fire, and stood warming first one foot, then the other, and warming his hands. After a little, he went back to his corner, and the Red Coat at the other, north corner of it hurried to the fire and got warm; then, by turns the other two Red Coats went to the fire and got warm. And at last, after further pacing of the sides of the corral, they all gathered at the fire, which they had kept replenishing, and began smoking their pipes. My chance had come; from where they stood in the coulee they could not see the corral! I hurried into it. My four horses stood together, apart from the many others, all strangers to them. I roped *Sikopi*, started with him toward the corral bars, and the three others closely followed. There were three bars. I let the lower one down noiselessly, placed a piece of buffalo robe on it

696 to prevent the next bar tunking upon it, and let it down; and used
657 the other piece of robe to deaden the sound of the third bar. I then led *Sikopi* out, the others still following, rope-bridled and mounted him, and started off slowly so that the Red Coats would not hear; but at once I had to ride fast, for all the horses in the corral had started for the entrance and were now coming fast, with thunderous noise. My three horses kept close to *Sikopi's* tail; the herd of others began to scatter out; the Red Coats could not see where I was heading. Oh, how happy I was! I wanted to sing!

No Red Coats pursued me. Near the middle of the next day I passed out of their country and was safe there where they could not
[261] follow me. I stopped for the night on Little River; killed four grouse and had a feast. On the following night I arrived at Badger Creek; went into Little Dog's lodge. When he and my women had greeted me, I said to him: "The Red Coats took my horses from me, but I got them back. Now you and Running Crane and White Calf, you three chiefs, I give you each a horse, and you have got to help me: You have to order our agent's seizers never to let him know of these Crow horses."

"I will go to White Calf and Running Crane in the morning: give each one his horse. Rest; don't worry; you will not lose your *Sikopi*," he answered.

But I did worry, watching for approaching seizers until the following evening, when, returning, Little Dog said to me: "So far as your takings of Crow horses are concerned, the seizers have gone blind. Gladly they said that they would never see them."

24: Schultz F-3 (1877-1947) 1980 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Three Suns' War Record (Told by Three Suns)

532 EVENTS IN THE LIFE of *Ninókskatosi*–("Three Suns," otherwise
212 known as "Big Nose"), last war chief of the Pikuni Indians, were por-
[237] trayed by him on an elk skin. This elk skin was given by Big Nose
[127] to Captain L. W. Cooke (later Brigadier General, U.S.A.), Third
[115] United States Infantry, while he was acting Indian agent for the
[624] Blackfoot, Blood, and Pikuni Indians in 1893–94. The following
● [657] notes, interpretative of the various pictographs on the skin, were
made by Captain Cooke from verbal descriptions given by Big Nose
himself. At that time Big Nose was about seventy years old.

SCENE 1 (1870):

[648] Represents the capture of eight Pondera (Pend d'Oreille) Indians by the South Piegans, with whom they were at war. A large village of the Piegans were in camp in the Cypress Hills near old Fort Walsh, Northwest Territory. The Piegans succeeded in surrounding their foes and were about to kill them when Big Nose interceded in their behalf, thus saving their lives and permitting them to return to the
[657] Flathead country from whence they came. It seems that at some previous time Big Nose had received a large silver medal from the United States government in Washington; he was told at the time that he must not kill or permit his people to kill anyone and that he and his people must make peace with all tribes as well as with the whites, hence his efforts to save the lives of this party.

SCENE 13 (1875):

721 Cypress Hills, Northwest Territory. Two hundred lodges of Piegans
726 were camped there. Four Sioux were discovered in a thicket,
532 were surrounded, and would have been killed but for Big Nose. He
212 took to the brush, but his squaw *Ksiskstukyake* ("Bear Woman")
[361] caught hold of him and tried to pull him away. He put her to one
side and went into the thicket, crawling slowly toward the Sioux
until he could see them behind a breastwork they had made in a circular
opening in the thicket. Three were armed with Winchester
rifles, two belts of cartridges, with their knives lying in front of them.
657 The fourth had an old flintlock gun. Big Nose parleyed with the
728 Sioux, telling them the Great Father[A] wanted all the Indians to make
532 peace. He displayed the medal already referred to[B] and a pipe he had
212 with him, asking them to smoke, to come with him, and he would
feed them and send them safely home. They threatened to kill him,
even poking their guns in his face; he paid no attention to this but
[201] continued to ask them to smoke. After making signs that they would
not be hurt, he could see that their leader was weakening. Big Nose
727 then sprang inside the breastwork and grabbed him; Big Nose's
657 squaw grabbed another and then they all came out, the Piegans not
532 injuring them. They then turned the Sioux over to the commanding
212 officer at Fort Walsh, Northwest Territory.

He first sent word by an Indian, now called "Jack the Ripper," to the commanding officer that they had the Sioux prisoners, but he would not believe it until Jack made oath of it. The commanding officer then sent seven soldiers and one officer and four extra horses to get them. When the officer came he was still incredulous; but when shown the pit, which was deep, and the protection afforded by the heavy fringe of thorn bush, he was amazed at the conduct of Big Nose, and made notes and a sketch of the place.

SCENE 14:

532 Four bows and quivers, tomahawk, powder horn and bullet
212 pouch. These were coups and were taken by Big Nose in his different
727 battles.
[555]

A.[i.e., the U.S. president--Analyst]

B.[The medal given to him by the U.S. president. See Category 657, p. 264--Analyst]

26: Wessel H-4,5 (no date) 1982
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Political Assimilation on the Blackfoot Indian Reservation, 1887–1934: A Study in Survival

Thomas R. Wessel

ABSTRACT 178

The life of Robert Hamilton, Sr., reflects many of the sociopolitical changes that occurred on the Blackfoot Reservation between 1887 and 1934.

On 27 March 1934, the Superintendent of the Blackfoot Indian Reservation of Montana, Forrest Stone, wrote the Commissioner of Indian Affairs seeking aid for Robert Hamilton, Jr., a young man suffering from tuberculosis. Stone justified the request by reminding the Commissioner that "the father of this boy perhaps did as much or more for the Blackfeet tribe of Indians than any one single individual in the history of the tribe." Robert J. Hamilton, Sr., had not always received such praise from the officials of the Office of Indian Affairs. During his lifetime the government had fired him as a tribal interpreter, arrested him for horse-stealing, jailed him as a radical agitator, and had found him generally an obstruction to the smooth advance of the Blackfeet toward civilization (National Archives (NA), 1934). 659● 159

Robert J. Hamilton, Sr., personified a transitional generation on the Blackfoot Reservation (Figure 7). The generation of Blackfeet that reached maturity at the turn of the century was the last generation of Native Americans who had direct contact with the traditional life of a 159 178

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[p.59-A]

and daring on horse-stealing raids, as well as a 622
display of generosity toward the less successful. 105
No leader held real power over the members of
the band. Social control was a function of the
entire society. Ridicule and ostracism functioned
as a principal means of maintaining order. A
leader retained his position only so long as he
displayed those characteristics that had propelled
him to leadership and so long as he correctly read
the temper of the band. A headman who
thwarted the desires of his followers would soon
find himself without anyone to lead. It was an
efficient fluid society well suited to the Plains
environment of the mid-nineteenth century.

In the 1880s, when Robert Hamilton was in his 175
early teens, the age when a Blackfoot boy entered
manhood, the buffalo days came to a sudden end. 178
In 1882, the Blackfeet had made a successful 433
hunt. In 1883, the hunt had been very poor. In
1884, the Blackfeet found no buffalo and endured
a two-year starving time when as many as 25
percent of the tribe died of malnutrition and
associated diseases. Dependent on the largess of 650
the federal government for bare subsistence, the 178
bands huddled near the government agency in
shock and despair (FRC, 1883; Ewers, 1958:290–294; McFee, 1972).

An erosion of traditional tribal society began
almost at once. The reservation agent's control
over food supplies struck at the heart of Blackfoot
pride and independence. Further, the relationship 657
of traditional leaders to the federal establishment 622
altered their position in the tribe. Rivalries 578
between band leaders, such as Three Suns who
sought to retain the old way of life and the more
accommodating White Calf, created social
divisions never completely healed. Although the 657
Blackfeet had organized a kind of police force 625
and established a law code under the direction of 626
Agent John Wood as early as 1878, the system
had supplemented rather than replaced
traditional methods of social control. After 1885, 657
federal Indian agents used the older leaders as a 622
means of enforcing order on the reservation. The 692
elders presided over the [illegible]bution of rations
and acted as judges meting out punishment for
infractions of reservation rules. With the estab- 657
692
621

lishment of courts and judges, social control became 657
institutionalized and divorced from the participation 692
of tribal membership. Individual discipline 627
that in the past could be lax except at
critical times of the hunt or war no longer was
tolerated. Leadership, rather than identifying 657
merit became frozen without a method of identification 622
for the future (Ewers, 1958:273–274; 178
Hagan, 1966).

As tribal elders, such as Three Suns, died, the
reservation agent appointed replacements generally
from among close relatives of the deceased,
introducing a hereditary bias to tribal leadership.
By the turn of the century a number of men
whose only claim to leadership was the status of
the position they occupied dominated the tribal
council. Absence of traditional means of achievement 657
closed avenues of leadership for most of 622
Hamilton's generation. So long as some of the 555
traditional leaders, such as White Calf, remained
on the tribal council the appointed members 178
possessed a certain amount of immunity. With
the death of White Calf in 1903, the last of the
active band leaders, a council that defined leadership
by status rather than merit became vulnerable.
Men of Hamilton's generation moved to
challenge the hereditary council and in the process
constructed a foundation for the preservation
of the Blackfoot community.

Hamilton worked for the next thirty years to 663
fill the leadership void left by White Calf and the 159
old band leaders. Unable to achieve leadership
by traditional means, Hamilton perceived the
change from a meritorious to a status society that
was already underway on the reservation. He
sought a new premise for determining leadership
that brought him to adopt Anglo political methods
in an effort to become identified as a spokesman
for Blackfoot interests and to attract a constituency.
With status alone as the measure of (657)
leadership, Hamilton saw no reason why he could
not assert his own claim, and he persistently
strove to restore a measure of autonomy for the
Blackfeet and to forge a modern economy on the
reservation. His adaptiveness often appeared opportunistic, 159
although his expediency was more 663
often than not designed to achieve a larger goal 662

[p.61-B]

of Blackfoot self-determination. At times his ac- 159
tions advanced his own personal fortunes as much 663
as the collective welfare of the submerged tribe. 662
Doubtless, in his own mind the two objectives were one.

Although Hamilton accommodated his own 159
identity to meet the changing demographic na- 663
ture of the reservation, he rarely sublimated him- 657
self to the whims of the White world. His behav- 178
ior, often erratic and inexplicable, was consistently assertive in so far as encouraging political activism among the Blackfeet. Hamilton's actions frequently brought federal reprisals. While the federal government through its reservation agents sought the destruction of Blackfoot culture and tribal society, the establishment of a Jeffersonian yoeman economy, and the political docility of the Blackfeet, Hamilton defended the tribe's cultural heritage while attempting to accommodate to twentieth-century economic realities. More importantly, he tried to weld the Blackfeet together with a new sense of community based on shared political aspiration as well as pride in a common ethnic heritage. That he did not and possibly could not find a mechanism to fulfill his aim of preserving the past while living in a radically altered present did not diminish the substantial character of his achievement.

Details of Hamilton's early life are uncertain. 159
He was probably of mixed blood parentage, although that is not well established. In 1902 Hamilton claimed to be a full blood Indian, whose parents had died in his infancy. A.B. Hamilton, a local trader, adopted him, changed his name from Bobtail to Robert, and gave him his own surname. In 1920, however, Hamilton indicated that A.B. Hamilton was his natural father and that his Blackfoot mother died in childbirth. The confusion as to Hamilton's birth may provide
some insight into his character. In the first two 162
decades of the twentieth century Blackfoot de- 144
mography changed dramatically. At the turn of the century the Blackfoot population was dominated by full bloods; by 1920 they constituted barely one-fourth of the enrolled membership. Although Hamilton may have simply been expedient, he more likely reacted under the stress of

the incident led to his firing as an interpreter, but it also marked him as a spokesman for the Blackfeet (Federal Records Center (FRC), 1898). 159

White Calf in death gave Hamilton an opportunity to assert his claim to leadership. Along with several other tribal members, Hamilton requested a meeting room from newly arrived Agent James Monteath shortly after the chief died. Monteath obliged but was appalled when the assembled Blackfeet announced that they were the newly elected Blackfoot Council and informed the agent that they were ready to take over much of the administrative duties of the agency office. The outraged agent refused to recognize any such election and insisted that the council remain an appointed body that would meet only at his call. Most agents probably would have preferred to do without a tribal council at all, but legal requirements of tribal approval of grazing leases on the reservation necessitated the existence of some such organization. An elected council, however, was more than the agent and some Blackfeet would tolerate (Monteath, 1903a). 159 668 657

Agent Monteath prevailed, but his strong denunciation of the action and particularly of Hamilton tended to increase his adversary's visibility. Over the next two years, Hamilton used every opportunity to challenge the tribal council. He attended every meeting questioning the council's right to conduct Blackfoot business. He denounced a government program that resulted in cutting the ration roll on the reservation and protested a plan by Agent Monteath to separate the full-blooded members of the tribe and place them in a subsistence farming program isolated from the centers of the Blackfoot population.

In 1905, an exasperated Agent Monteath tried to silence his outspoken critic by having Hamilton arrested for horse stealing. That year Hamilton's foster father, A.B. Hamilton, died. Hamilton took possession of the older Hamilton's horses. Other members of the tribe and some White traders made a claim for the horses; since Hamilton had nothing to prove his own right to the animals, Agent Monteath saw an opportunity to confine his adversary in the agency jail. No trial was ever held over the incident, and many Blackfeet were 159 657 692

ready to believe that Hamilton was in jail for his 159
political activity rather than for a dispute over 657
the ownership of some horses. Ironically, the 692
horse-stealing charge probably enhanced Hamilton's standing among the full-bloods. Particularly
among the older members of the tribe, horse
stealing kindled fond memories of a happier day.
In any event, after sitting in the reservation jail [697]
for a few weeks, Hamilton was released after the
charges were dropped. (NA, 1902a; 1915c).

Possibly fearing for his safety, Hamilton left 159
the reservation for the next two years to work in
the law office of a former agent, Mark Baldwin.
Congressional passage of an allotment act for the 159
Blackfeet in 1907 brought him home. Once again 657
he took up the cause of an elected council, pointing out that allotment endangered the very exist- 668
ence of the tribe. He insisted that an unrepresentative council could not be expected to protect
Blackfoot interests. His persistent challenge to the
authority of the council and the reservation agent
led to his jailing once again. In 1910, another new 159
agent, C.H. Churchill, without pretense for his 657
action, made allegations of criminal activity
against Hamilton and declared him a menace to 692
Blackfoot social order. Churchill later suggested
that Hamilton's efforts to gain enrollment for
absentee Blackfeet, for which he charged a fee,
had prompted the agent's action. Whatever the
reason, Hamilton remained in the reservation jail
until the arrival of still another federal official
several months later.

Superintendent Arthur McFatridge, the first
nonpatronage appointee on the Blackfoot Reservation, released Hamilton from confinement.
McFatridge's appointment resulted from efforts 159
to remove reservation agents from the patronage 657
system. Past proposals to cover agents under Civil
Service regulations failed to gain Congressional
approval. Beginning in 1906, President Theodore
Roosevelt introduced the expedient of not appointing agents to Indian reservations; instead he
placed the reservations under the authority of
government school superintendents who were
subject to Civil Service selection. Superintendents
were generally highly critical of their political
predecessors and made some effort to ingratiate

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themselves with the tribe. Finding the new government official in a cooperative spirit, Hamilton solicited his support for an elected tribal council. McFatridge refused to endorse an elected council, but was willing to employ a device becoming common on other reservations. He agreed to the election of a "business committee" to deal with the specific questions of tribal enrollment and the approval of leasing arrangements on the reservation. The business committee on most reservations was usually a small body of five or ten tribal members. With allotment well underway on many reservations, including the Blackfoot, a smaller business committee seemed more efficient than calling together the tribal council of 40 to 50 members or as on some reservations, the entire adult male population. Accordingly, the larger tribal council was assembled primarily for major issues, such as informing the Blackfeet of changes in government policy (FRC, 1912).

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Hamilton had little difficulty getting himself elected to the business committee, thanks to his earlier efforts to identify himself as a Blackfoot spokesman. He quickly dominated the business committee and pushed it to consider all questions of interest to the Blackfeet. He used the meetings as a forum to discuss the administration of the Blackfoot cattle industry and to resurrect a longstanding Blackfoot claim for compensation for land lost in the nineteenth century. When questioned about the committee's authority to deal with such matters, he replied that it was simply providing advisory recommendations (FRC, 1910; NA, 1970).

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Over the next several years, Hamilton continued to expand the business committee's agenda. He used the committee as a forum to turn the Blackfeet from a fragmented tribe, frequently at war with itself, to an issue oriented, politically minded community. He saw the business committee as a place to resolve Blackfoot differences and as a symbol to attract Blackfoot loyalty. Membership on the committee also gave him a cloak of legitimacy to pursue Blackfoot interests outside the normal channels through the Office of Indian Affairs. On six occasions between 1912 and 1919, Hamilton travelled to Washington,

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D.C., where he established contact with sympathetic 159
Congressmen and eastern philanthropists 663
(FRC, 1914; NA, 1917a).

Typical of his activities was his testimony before
a Senate committee in 1914 alleging that 149
Blackfeet had starved on the reservation the previous
winter. The charges, to say the least, were 159
exaggerated. Many of those listed had died of 663
natural causes unrelated to malnutrition, while
over half were still alive ten years later. The 511
allegations, however, sufficiently impressed Senator 657
Mark Lane of Oregon, who repeated them
on the Senate floor. Hamilton in later years was
not above quoting his own charges from the
Congressional Record as the authority for his claim.
Nevertheless, Hamilton succeeded in drawing attention
to what were undeniably deplorable conditions
on the reservation. A subsequent investigation
failed to sustain allegations of starvation
among the Blackfeet, but it did, for unrelated
reasons, lead to the removal of Superintendent
McFatridge. Hamilton's initiative in prompting 159
the investigation left the impression among the
Blackfeet that he exercised real power, even to 663
the extent of removing a superintendent. He [647]
quickly took advantage of that impression to
further escalate the business committee's activities
(NA, 1915c; 1922b).

A recurrent issue on the reservation involved a 159
claim arising from land the Blackfeet lost in 1874.
That year, through a Presidential order, a large 657
section of the reservation was opened to White 423
settlement. The Blackfeet never received payment
for the land lost; at the time, however, they had
given the loss little notice, since they had ceased
using the area as a hunting ground. From time to
time over the next several decades the Blackfeet
requested that the Office of Indian Affairs press
their claim in Washington, but to no avail. Hamilton 159
made it a central theme of the business 647
committee. The issue appealed to all elements of
the tribe and furthered his own career as a tribal 657
leader. In 1919, he gained permission to hire a 423
Washington, D.C., law firm to obtain Congressional
sanction for a suit before the U.S. Court of
Claims. Five years later, Congress passed the 159
necessary sanction enabling legislation. Finally 657

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after years of litigation and three years after 159
Hamilton's death in 1932, the Court of Claims 657
sustained the Blackfoot claim (NA, 1920a; 423
1936a).

Until 1919, Hamilton and the business com- [647]
mittee devoted most of their energies toward
attempting to preserve all of the Blackfoot Reservation for the benefit of the Blackfoot people. In 1907, Congress passed an allotment act for the Blackfeet. It was a common practice for Congress to pass special allotment acts taking into consideration the particular conditions of the reservation and requiring only general adherence to the General Allotment Act of 1887. Under the terms of the 1907 Act each Blackfoot tribal member enrolled before 30 June 1911 was to select an allotment of 320 acres, either all in grazing land or divided between 280 acres of grazing land and 40 acres of irrigated land. Any land remaining after allotment was to be classified and opened by Presidential proclamation to settlement under the various entry laws of the United States. On the Blackfoot Reservation nearly one-half of the land was potentially available for entry after allotment.

For various technical reasons the Office of Indian Affairs did not submit the Blackfoot allotment schedule for approval by the Secretary of
the Interior until 1917. During the preceding 159
five years, Hamilton had worked assiduously to 663
change the nature of the allotments and to keep 657
the "surplus" land from entry. On one occasion 423
he completely defied his own business committee when a majority had been persuaded to support Montana Senator Thomas Walsh's bill allowing early entry on a portion of the surplus land. Hamilton had gone to Washington as part of a delegation committed to supporting the bill but testified against it instead. It was a measure of his confidence that he thought he could reverse his instructions and still retain his position on the business committee. His judgment proved accurate. The disclosure that part of the reservation might contain oil and gas soon brought the business committee around to Hamilton's position.

The possibility of mineral wealth on the reservation also suggested a means of preserving the

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tribal government and retarding the intent of the 1907 Blackfoot Allotment Act, which did not provide for the disposal of mineral land apart from general allotment (34 Stat. 1015; NA, 1916c; 1919c). The question arose whether minerals found beneath land already selected could be preserved to the tribe before the selections were approved. Additionally, a decision became necessary as to the disposition of potential mineral wealth beneath land not allotted. Hamilton seized upon the possibility that oil existed on the reservation and demanded that all mineral rights on the reservation remain a tribal asset. With a tribal asset of undetermined duration the perpetuation of tribal governments was assured for the immediate future (NA, 1917b).

Hamilton attacked the problem on two fronts. Without authority, he invited Standard Oil of New Jersey and other companies to negotiate leases on the reservation. The specific terms of Hamilton's proposal to the companies is unknown, but their positive response became ammunition in his lobbying effort with the Indian office and Congress. Between 1915 and 1917, Congress considered several bills to alter the rights of individual Blackfeet to the minerals underlying their selections. None of the proposals received Congressional approval, and in 1917 the Department of the Interior approved the Blackfeet Allotment Schedule with mineral rights vested in the individual. The debate, however, inclined Congress to reconsider the disposition of surplus reservation land. Hamilton and the business committee had petitioned the Office of Indian Affairs and the Congress to add "too late babies" to the enrollment list and make them eligible for allotments. Congress had passed such second round allotment acts before and generally agreed to such requests. The Indian Office, however, usually resisted such efforts, preferring to keep a complicated process as simple as possible. In 1919, with the evidence of oil and gas deposits on the reservation mounting, Congress passed a second allotment act ordering allotments for Blackfeet born after 1 July 1911, but reserving subsoil rights to the tribe. While such an act did not guarantee the future of the tribe, it acted to delay the time

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when Congress might order the termination of 159
Blackfeet local government (H.R. 1916, S, 1914; 657
S, 1917; S, 1918; NA 1916b; 41 Stat. 3).

Hamilton's success in helping obtain a second 663
round of allotments for the Blackfeet was tem- 423
pered by a personal set-back in 1919. Hamilton's
prominence on the reservation and the legal back- 159
ground he acquired while working with Mark
Baldwin had, years before, led to his appointment 662
as a United States commissioner. The appoint- 663
ment lasted but one year, when it was discovered 464
that Hamilton was accepting fees for his work.
United States commissioners were salaried officials. Although Hamilton's fees were illegal, it was apparently done without fraudulent intent. He had never drawn his salary as commissioner and apparently thought his income from the office was derived from fees similar to the system used for clerks in federal courts. In 1919, a jury found him innocent of wrong doing, but he lost his position as commissioner (FRC, 1919).

Far more detrimental to the well-being of the 433
Blackfeet was the consequence of the European 657
war and postwar economic dislocation on the
reservation's cattle industry. Authorities had long 178
recognized that the Blackfoot Reservation was
primarily suited to cattle and sheep grazing. The 433
Allotment Act of 1907 had recognized the reser-
vation's limitations for crop agriculture when 657
alloting the principal part of it for grazing. Since 233
the mid-1890s the federal government, using Blackfoot funds acquired from land sales, distributed cattle to adult tribal members. By 1910, the Blackfoot cattle herds through further distributions and natural increase were large enough to predict a reasonable level of success for the enterprise. A series of drought years and severe winters between 1900 and 1908 retarded the development of the industry, but sufficient stock remained to ensure recovery. The development of irrigated hay fields appeared to solve the problem of winter feed.

The government cattle program, however, had 657
the effect of enriching a few Blackfeet while most 233
languished. Full-blood members of the tribe con- 184
tinued to take more pride in their horse herds
than in cattle. Mixed bloods found it relatively 471

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easy to barter Indian ponies for cattle. Consequently, Blackfoot cattle tended to end up in the hands of a few aggressive entrepreneurs. As early as 1902, only 47 Blackfeet had substantial cattle herds. The Office of Indian Affairs was aware of the monopolizing process on the reservation and acted to reverse the trend (NA, 1903).

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The cattle question on the Blackfoot Reservation placed the government in a dilemma. The government tried to foster both the tribe's collective economic advancement and self-enterprise among individual members. The more ambitious, however, by their very aggressiveness, tended to defeat the government's effort to raise the general level of economic self-sufficiency. In a sense, the government was too successful in introducing capitalism to the Blackfeet, and it never solved the problem of reconciling an economic system based on creating winners and losers with a commitment to preventing losses. The reality that not every Blackfoot tribal member could be a successful entrepreneur did not mesh with government programs. Furthermore, intervention ensured discontent from every faction on the reservation.

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The problem was further compounded by increasing pressure on the Office of Indian Affairs to establish grazing leases for outside cattlemen. Nearby ranchers had already found they could make individual arrangements with Blackfoot tribal members and bring their cattle onto the reservation. A grazing lease system was required to bring the problem of trespass cattle under control. Until the Blackfeet enlarged their cattle herds sufficiently to use the entire reservation, leasing to outside cattlemen appeared a reasonable method to increase Blackfoot income. At the same time the government was reluctant to tie up large amounts of reservation land in leases that might soon be allotted. Consequently, the government instituted a "permit system" on the reservation rather than a lease system. The permit system had the added advantage from the agent's point of view of not requiring approval from the tribal council.

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Although the permit system had been instituted while Hamilton was away from the reser

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vation and before the establishment of a business 657
committee, it became a central issue in his campaign 159
to secure more authority for the tribe over 427
its own future. Objections to the permit system
also gained Hamilton support from both full
bloods and mixed bloods. The permit system
established a fee of $1.00 a head for a fixed
number of cattle to range without restriction on
the Blackfoot Reservation. For the Blackfeet the 578
government imposed the same fee for number of
cattle in excess of one hundred head. Mixed 184
bloods with large cattle herds protested paying 427
any fee. Full bloods were equally resentful since 657
the fee restricted their ability to trade cattle for 233
horses. What the government had viewed as an
insidious process of monopolization was viewed
quite differently by the Blackfeet. Full bloods
took little umbrage with their mixed blood relatives'
penchant for acquiring cattle so long as it
allowed them to continue a life-style they cherished
above the ownership of beef cattle. Hamilton [159]
understood the full blood's attachment to an
older pace of life and resented the government's
interference (NA, 1902b, 1904a, 1904b; 1904c).

With little ability to monitor the system, the 657
government program had little practical effect.
Full bloods and mixed bloods simply evaded the 233
regulations. Later, in 1908, the Office of Indian 422
Affairs modified the permit system charging a fee
to the Blackfeet only for cattle that were not part
of the government's distribution program. Cattle
carrying the Interior Department ID brand were
not charged, while "straight" cattle were charged
a fee for any number. The new program encouraged
Blackfeet with large herds to brand all of
their cattle with the ID brand, thus escaping the
fee. Branding cattle with the ID brand, however, [471]
also reduced their ability to sell the cattle since
ID cattle could be sold only with the agent's [432]
permission (FRC, 1908).

Hamilton had little difficulty organizing general 159
resistance to the government's program and 657
in uniting mixed bloods and full bloods in the
effort. By 1915, the general evasion of the program 233
forced the government to return to a leasing
system. With World War I already in progress in 657
Europe the market price for cattle increased, and 233

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the return of drought reduced the Blackfeet cattle 657
industry to only a few thousand head. Pressure 233
by the cattle owners on agents to approve cattle
sales proved irresistable when prices went over 458
$15.00 a hundredweight. Inevitably, the first to
sell their cattle were the full bloods (NA, 1915a,
1915b, 1915c).

To meet the situation the government changed 657
the cattle program once again. In 1915, with a 233
modest beginning, the Office of Indian Affairs
established a tribal cattle herd as a means of 422
teaching the full bloods the skills of cattle raising
and to provide them with a market for their hay.
The program was no more successful than earlier
efforts in agricultural training. Mixed-blood cattlemen
protested that tribal resources were denied
them because the tribal herd used the best grazing
land. They demanded that the government distribute
the herd on a per capita basis. Such a
program nearly ensured that the cattle would
ultimately become property of a few mixed
bloods. Drought and the break in cattle prices 657
after World War I ended the debate. By 1920 the
government had sold the herd to reduce costs and 233
the Blackfeet found themselves in their worst 458
economic distress since the 1880s (NA, 1916a,
1919a, 1919b, 1920b).

The destruction of the Blackfoot cattle industry
during the war and postwar years, coupled with
the end of Blackfoot funds from earlier land sales,
left most of the tribe destitute. Few had improved
their allotments sufficiently to farm, and fewer
had the resources to reestablish themselves in the
cattle business. At its lowest point in forty years
and a decade away from a time when income
from mineral resources would partially alleviate
conditions on the reservation, Fred C. Campbell
arrived as the new superintendent. In Campbell,
Hamilton faced his greatest challenge for tribal
leadership (Wessel, 1979).

Campbell was an ambitious, imposing figure, 657
who put his personal stamp on the reservation in
the first months of his administration. He quickly
gained an understanding of the reservation's
problems. With the limited resources of the reservation, 657
Campbell decided to concentrate building 433
a subsistence level under the most destitute mem- 241
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bers of the tribe, the full bloods. In the first weeks 657
of his administration, he visited every family on 433
the reservation, making notes of specific needs 241
and the family's resources. Over the next few 179
months he developed a program to encourage full
bloods, and any mixed blood who would join
him, to begin utilizing the allotments. His idea
was to break the psychological depression that
gripped the reservation and encourage full bloods
to begin some modest efforts in farming. Campbell
never said what he thought the result of his
program was to be, but in design its success meant
developing a series of subsistence farm communities.
He further instilled a sense of pride in the 657
full bloods by acquiescing in their desire to gather 796
for summer ceremonials. He compromised with 182
the full bloods and gained their agreement to
move the Sun Dance to a part of the summer 241
when it did not interfere with necessary farm
work. His sensitivity to the Blackfeet's deeply felt
need to maintain continuity with their past
through practice of traditional ceremonials
quickly endeared him to the full blood community.
It also presented a significant challenge to 159
Robert Hamilton and the business committee, 657
which for all practical purposes by 1920 acted as 185
the tribal council. Hamilton had worked, for the
preceding decade, to create a sense of community
on the reservation, with the business committee
as the forum where individual differences could
be compromised into tribal positions. Campbell's
success, while laudable in the short run, endangered
that development and appeared a step back
toward reliance on the federal government (NA,
1921a, 1922a).

The conflict that developed between these two
strong-willed individuals was probably inevitable.
Hamilton's opposition to Campbell's plan,
however, was not based entirely on competition
for leadership, but a genuine concern for the
future of the reservation. Campbell's program, if 159
generally employed on the reservation, would 657
have had the effect of perpetually isolating the 433
local economy from the general agricultural economy 179
of the region. He was not interested in
developing commercial agriculture, but expended
his energies on establishing diversified agriculture

that looked toward self-sufficiency. It was an idea that had had some appeal in the frontier conditions of the nineteenth century, but could hardly anticipate economic advancement in the integrated national economy of the twentieth century.

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Campbell's method of implementing his program was even more disturbing for Hamilton. The superintendent established a series of regional farm chapters on the reservation. The farm chapters organized the farming efforts of the full bloods and acted as cooperatives for equipment purchases. They also became local political clubs, where tribal members discussed general questions of reservation policy and arrived at decisions. Hamilton chafed under Campbell's domination of the farm chapters and the diminished role of the business committee (NA, 1922c, 1924a, 1924b).

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Campbell had also moved to regularize the election of council members and established election districts along the same lines as the regional farm chapters. His influence with the farm chapters undoubtedly gave him some control over the election of council members. Since the council's authority was restricted principally to matters of tribal enrollment and approving leases, Hamilton found that real decisions about the use of tribal resources tended to drift away from the council and to Campbell's farm chapters. It also meant that tribal resources that might have been used to develop the mineral potential of the reservation were diverted to the subsistence agricultural program.

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Through Hamilton's urging, the tribal council had pressured the Department of the Interior to approve the first oil and gas lease on the reservation in 1922, which went to Louis Hill of the Great Northern Railroad. The Hill lease had been loosely written and resulted in little exploration. Hamilton urged that the Blackfeet with the aid of the Geological Survey conduct its own exploration, while the Department of the Interior pressed for outside leases with such restrictions that no company was willing to engage in the effort. Another decade passed before oil discoveries of a commercial nature brought some relief

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to the financially distressed Blackfeet. In the 159
meantime, Hamilton moved to challenge directly 657
Campbell's authority on the reservation (NA, 179
1921b, 1921c; U.S. Senate, 1932:12768–12774).

Biennial elections gave both Campbell and
Hamilton a platform from which to air grievances. 159
Campbell proved Hamilton right when 657
Campbell directly intervened in elections to assure
that Blackfeet sympathetic to his development 662
program were elected to council positions. [666]
In 1924, when Hamilton failed to gain a council
seat for the first time in over ten years, he immediately
laid plans to wrest the council from
Campbell's supporters. In the process it forced
Hamilton to make a choice that he had avoided
in the past. Since Campbell's influence rested
primarily with the full blood population of the
reservation, Hamilton made an overt appeal to [578]
disgruntled mixed bloods and consequently exposed
a factional split in the tribe that had always
been near the surface (NA, 1924a).

In 1926 his effort brought success. Once again Hamilton was on the tribal council with a majority supporting him. Unsatisfied with regaining control of the council, Hamilton proceeded to use it as a means of dismissing Campbell from his position as superintendent. In the election of 1926 Hamilton had allied himself with State Senator Frank McCabe, a shadowy figure on the reservation who was often accused of using his influence with tribal members to secure their allotments (NA, 1926a, 1926b).

Government policy since 1917 had allowed 657
individual allottees to request an early end to the 423
trust period established under the allotment acts.
Generally, an allottee could not sell or encumber 425
his allotment until after a 25-year trust period
had expired. The administration of thousands of trust patents, however, proved such a burden to the overworked Office of Indian Affairs that a request for a fee simple patent from an allottee was usually approved. Some authorities were suspicious that McCabe was bribing allottees to request fee patents and then buying their land. Many full bloods who had not become accustomed to working their allotments were easily persuaded to ask for fee patents. Campbell ac-

cused McCabe of fraudulently acquiring land 657
from full bloods and obtained a federal indict- 423
ment of the State Senator. Although a jury ac- 425
quitted McCabe of wrong doing, Campbell made an issue of his friendship with Hamilton (NA, 1919c, 1926a, 1926b, 1926c, 1926d).

At the first meeting of the 1926 Council, Ham- 159
ilton as the presiding officer inappropriately 657
turned the meeting over to McCabe. McCabe 662
forced a resolution out of the council condemning Campbell, and, acting beyond the council's authority, dismissed him from office. The Office of Indian Affairs refused to recognize the council's action and sent an investigator to the reservation. The investigation proved that the charges against Campbell had little substance and resulted in the Indian Office refusing to further deal with the tribal council. For several years the council had met on a regular basis, but after 1926 the Office of Indian Affairs insisted that it meet only at the call of the superintendent. Hamilton had apparently hoped that his extreme action would lead to an airing of the differences between his ideas for the reservation's future and Campbell's, but the investigator chose not to deal with substantive questions of reservation policy. By 1928, carrying the scars of two decades of political war with the Office of Indian Affairs and reservation agents, Hamilton refused to run for a council seat (NA, 1926c, 1926d).

Ironically, by 1928 Campbell had become con- 657
vinced that the future of the reservation depended 433
on the development of cattle and sheep grazing, 179
a position that Hamilton had taken from the 233
beginning. The allotment of the reservation into over 3,000 separate units, however, made it dif-
ficult to establish grazing on an economical basis. 657
To assure adequate range, hundreds of leases 233
were executed each year with individual allottees. 423
Failure to secure even one lease could exclude several hundred acres from use in the middle of a grazing range and make it virtually unusable. The problem of multiple tenures interfering with efficient range management was not a problem restricted to Indian reservations. The difficulty existed throughout the State of Montana, where land within natural grazing ranges might contain

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several private patents along with federally owned and state-owned land. In 1928, a group of ranchers in southeastern Montana established the first grazing district in the nation. Through enabling legislation from both the state and Congress, a local board received permission to organize use of the range containing multiple tenures. The method became the basis for the Taylor Grazing Act of 1934 (Schlebecker, 1963:114–115; NA, 1932, 1936b). 657 233 423

In 1928 as well, the Office of Indian Affairs created an Agricultural Extension Service for Indian reservations. One of the service's first efforts was to use the experience in Montana to rationalize grazing on Indian reservations. Indian Office officials attempted to gain powers of attorney from individual allottees and create the kind of local grazing districts that proved successful in southeastern Montana. The program brought Robert Hamilton out of retirement. Hamilton was not opposed to the idea, but he saw the Indian Office's exercise of power of attorney as further eroding what little authority remained to the tribal council. He would have probably supported the effort if the council exercised the power of attorney, but he could not favor surrendering any additional power to the Office of Indian Affairs (NA, 1932). 159 657 423 663

Hamilton resisted the government's program and convinced enough allottees to refuse the Indian Office's request for powers of attorney. The Office of Indian Affairs, which met similar opposition on other reservations, called for a conference in 1932 in Washington to resolve the dispute. The Blackfeet elected Robert Hamilton as their representative. The old political fighter, perhaps mellowed with age, indicated that he would act as a statesman. Although still adamantly opposed to approving the Indian Office exercise of powers of attorney, he suggested a legal document that

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gave the Indian Office the same authority in fact but not in name. It was perhaps a symbolic gesture and it was his last contribution to Blackfoot welfare. After a short illness and before he could attend the national grazing conference, Hamilton died. He might have been gratified to know that the Indian Office adopted his method of obtaining permission to organize grazing districts on the Blackfoot Reservation (NA, 1939).

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In any context outside of an Indian reservation, Robert Hamilton would have been known as a politician. In his long struggle to gain for the Blackfeet a measure of home rule, the Office of Indian Affairs described him as a radical agitator, a horse thief, and a malcontent, but never as a politician. Unlike many of his followers, Hamilton was capable of making his way in White society. On three occasions in his life he left the reservation but always returned. The reservation was his forum and the place where he could be an Indian. He was instrumental in creating on the Blackfoot Reservation a community based on shared political aspirations, while maintaining a spiritual link with the past. He helped educate his people to use the political process and the federal courts to establish Blackfoot legal rights. He tried, perhaps without success, to find the institutional means to preserve the essence of Blackfoot culture in the midst of a twentieth-century reality. During Hamilton's lifetime, the Blackfeet changed from a nomadic people dominated by war and the hunt to a people identified with a new sense of community. His was of the last generation that could bridge the gulf between the traditional and the future. When the Blackfeet gained a degree of autonomy through the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, they owed much of their ability to exercise that autonomy and press for further rights of self-determination to Robert Hamilton.

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who had ten wives and sixty children. 621

From the beginning, the Many Children had 622
the reputation of being wild and unmanageable,
not in a warrior sense, but in tribal and domestic [595]
affairs. The split with the Many Fat Horses oc- 621
curred when a son-in-law of Not Afraid Of The 579
Gros Ventres became a favorite of Many Spotted
Horses and gained the jealousy and ill will of his 628
brothers-in-law. One day, when he went to the Many Children camp, he was attacked by the family and before he was killed he had slain Not Afraid Of The Gross Ventres and two sons.

The ensuing scandal caused the Many Children, now under the leadership of a son named Running Wolf, to become alienated from their fellow Bloods. A year later, they became involved in a dispute with members of the All Tall People band, resulting in a number of deaths on both sides. A trader during that period commented (in Graham, 1956:17):

> At one time they numbered twenty-eight lodges, approximately between fifty and sixty fighting men. A feud broke out between them and another branch of the same tribe and at the time I speak of the [Many Chidren] had been reduced to two lodges and the survivors had taken refuge in the South Piegan camp.

They remained separated from the Bloods until 621
the extermination of the buffalo forced them to 628
settle on their reservation in 1880. As a result, 657
Running Wolf was not at the Canadian treaty
and was not recognized as a chief until a year [622]
after he had come home. And even after they
were on their reservation, the Many Children 621
were an unruly lot. "They were a wild bunch," 579
said one informant (Harry Mills, 1953, pers. comm.), "and gradually they all got killed off, mostly by the Bloods themselves." "Even today," said another (Goldfrank, 1939), "the women in the Many Children band are like men and want their own way in everything. You can't tell them anything. They are wild and run with many men."

The Marrows, also a Followers of the Buffalo 621
offshoot, was named because of their fondness for
buffalo marrow. The only known leader was [622]
White Calf, who was also one of the leading war [701]

he was killed by whiskey traders in 1874, Many 622
Spotted Horses became the sole leader of the 175
Lone Fighters and signed the 1877 treaty on their [701]
behalf.

The Black Elks were the other independent [721]
band of the nomadic era. The origin of its name
is in doubt, one informant claiming it was a 621
variation of the name Elk Anus band, because its 175
members preferred to eat the rear haunches of
the animal. Others claimed the name was derived
from black Hudson's Bay blankets or from a dark-
skinned leader who wore an elkskin robe (Mac-
lean, 1895:255).

The nomadic leader was Eagle Head, who was 622
joined by the younger Blackfoot Old Woman and 175
given chieftainship status after the 1877 treaty.
Bitterly opposed to the Fish Eaters, Blackfoot Old 622
Woman aspired to the official head chieftainship 643
of the entire tribe but was constantly turned aside
by Red Crow. He apparently had the support of
the Many Tumors, Scabbies, and some of the
Followers of the Buffalo offshoots, but not until
1907, seven years after Red Crow's death, was he
finally given the coveted head chieftainship. Dur-
ing much of the reservation period, however,
Blackfoot Old Woman was a de facto head chief
and spokesman for the anti-Fish Eaters' faction
on the reservation.

When the Bloods were forced to abandon their 657 ●
nomadic existence in 1880 and to settle on their 361
reservation, they camped along a 25-mile stretch
of the Belly River, just as though they were going
into their winter quarters. This time, however, [342]
there was no spring departure, and as cottonwood
cabins replaced leather tipis, the settlements took
on an air of permanence. For the next twenty 621
years, the reservation gave the bands a sense of
structure and identity that had been unknown in 657
the past. At the farthest point upriver were the 621
Fish Eaters, followed in descending order by the 361
Followers of the Buffalo, Shooting Up, Marrows,
Many Brown Weasels, All Black Faces, more Fish
Eaters, Lone Fighters, Many Children, Hairy
Shirts, Knife Owners, All Tall People, Many
Tumors, Scabbies, Black Elks, and All Short Peo-
ple. Later, when Day Chief was appointed head [622]

27: Dempsey H-4,5 (no date) 1982
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

chief of the downriver bands, he moved his All 621
Black Faces to a location between the Knife 361
Owners and the All Tall People, and when the 622
Orphans were formed, they moved to the Knife
Owners' camp.

Although the bands were no longer flexible in 621
their movements, they were in their naming 657
practises. Under new conditions, some of the bands 178
received new names as fresh incidents occurred.
The Followers of the Buffalo, whose name was
outdated, became the Camps in a Bunch. The
Many Children were renamed the Mules and
later became the Small Robes, the Shooting Up
became the Interfering, the Lone Fighters were
the Middle Reserve People, and the Knife Owners were called Blocking the Road.

After the turn of the century, many families 657
began to leave the confines of the Belly River to 361
start their own farms and ranches, thus breaking 621
up the traditional band structure. The new 178
groups, usually made up of people from several
bands, also received band-like nicknames, but
these were usually based upon their geographical
locations. These included the Big Corner Posts,
the Deadman's Corner People, Shore People, and
the Tall Trees. Of these, the latter seemed to 522
embody best the humor or disdain so often found
in earlier band naming practices, for the Tall
Trees were located in one of the most barren and
treeless areas on the Blood Reserve.

[p.104-A]

held in his father's arms long after such attention was necessary. And 858
when he joined other children in the play camp, he was not the "hus- 556
band" of some willing little girl, as was a less protected youngster. His 554
sister remained his watchful "mother." In the main, his close com- 155
panions were *minipoka* like himself, an arrangement that not only
fostered a blatant élitism, but also protected the "privileged" from 857]
being ganged up on by less favored children.

Nor was the "child of plenty" permitted to visit around and stay out overnight as other boys did. Nor could he attend the socially convivial "tea dances" along with other young blades. But when his father went on a trip, the *minipoka* was, whenever possible, the companion of his choice. It goes without saying that the favorite wore fine clothes, rode good horses with beautiful trappings, married with ostentatious display. Moreover, as he grew to manhood, he was spared the onerous participation in the hunt and the dangers of the warpath. He trusted to his father's wealth to bring him positions of respect. And this trust was not misplaced. Among the Blackfoot, "great deeds in social and cere- [622]
monial life would alone elevate one to the status of headman."[22]

True, the favorite was expected to be "generous" to all and sundry. More often, however, his training made him lazy and parasitical, readier to exploit the labor of others than to add to their support.

Originally a means for validating a father's wealth, the institution [593]
of the favorite child had secondary consequences—among them, the re- [866]
inforcement of sibling rivalry, the encouragement of dependency in a society where self-reliance was a major objective, and the forging of strong affectional bonds between a father and his child, most usually between a father and his son. And it is this last that has particular importance for the way in which the father image is revealed in every-day life.

Being a favorite meant submission to certain restrictions—less freedom of movement, less participation in some of the more adventurous or romantic aspects of Blood society; and, at times, this was resented. But we have no record of any Blood who rejected the substantial attentions and advantages offered by favoritism. For the *minipoka*, the [593]
father became the "giver" *par excellence*, the only reliable "giver," since their statuses were so inextricably linked.[23]

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[22] Clark Wissler, "The Social Life of the Blackfoot Indians," p. 23.

[23] In the reserve period, the government was actually more "reliable." But [178]
favoritism continued and with it patterns of an earlier time that still had relevance. [171]
In fact, those Blood who had no horses, and so could not make the traditional investments in ceremonial paraphernalia and society memberships, etc., but who were [857]
otherwise successful, had favorites "the American Way"—that is, they dressed their children well and showered them with expensive gifts.

residence, band, family connections, household, 128
and societal memberships. These cards have been
in my possession for many years and I shall be
more than happy to make them available for
study to any interested scholar. Finally, if
anyone knows the present whereabouts of Marjorie
Lismer I would appreciate hearing from
them, care of the Plains Anthropologist.

Esther S. Goldfrank

INTRODUCTION

Adoption, in one form or another, is commonly 597
found in most parts of the world and yet
its mechanics are seldom recorded in any detail.
With the Blackfoot it is now a well established [178]
custom and the Indians themselves say it was
frequent in former times.

The Blood reserve, where these studies were 101
made in the summer of 1939, is an area of 600 131
square miles in southern Alberta near the International
Boundary. About 1450 people are [162]
spread over the reserve, in scattered households, [621]
with related families tending to cluster together.
There are, roughly, 280 of these households, 361
varying in size from those where several families, [592]
either of brothers, or of a man and his married
children, live together in the same house.

The more prosperous families often have two 221
houses, a farm where they live most of the 361
summer until after the wheat and oats are
harvested, and another house nearer the range
where their cattle and horses graze. This does not
mean that certain houses are unoccupied for half
the year. There always seems to be a relative and
his family to be accommodated in the other
house. Means of subsistence include grain growing, 433
cattle raising, and horse breeding. Horses, 434
however, are not a source of money to any great
extent but are used for exchange within the
reserve. Government rations and subsidies are 434
given to families who cannot support themselves. 657●
There are about a hundred households on destitute
rations. Compared with neighboring reserves,
however, the number on relief is relatively
low.

A feature of family life that strikes even the 586
most casual observer is the fluidity of the family 593
group. Husbands and wives change partners with
great ease and frequency, especially among the
younger people. Marriages are very informal in
many cases and requires little formality for
divorce. This is of special interest to our problem
since this breakup of the family frequently leaves

case where a man's own children resented the adopted child. In this instance the newcomer was nine years old when adopted and came from another reservation. But the adoption of as old a boy and as complete a stranger as this is not common. It is said that a man's own children might feel even more affection for a foster brother or sister merely because they felt sorry for the child that was taken into their family. Of course, it must be remembered that in the majority of cases a child is adopted by a couple who have no children at the time and do not acquire more later, at least while that child is still young. 597

In most of the stories under discussion it was not revealed how the property was apportioned at a man's death between his own and foster children. There are only a few cases where it is definitely said that property was willed to an adopted child, in some instances sharing equally with a man's own children. According to agency records there have been no disputes arising out of the distribution of property willed in this manner. 597 428

A child does not usually benefit at the death of his real parents if he has been adopted elsewhere. Legally he could claim against his father if he dies intestate, since the government does not recognize Indian adoptions. But property varying from many horses to occasional gifts of clothing are frequently given to the child by his own parents during their lifetime. If the child does not know who his parents are, these gifts are explained on the basis of gifts from an older brother, a brother-in-law, cousin, or even a grandfather. [657] [431]

There are varying degrees of warmth and friendliness between the real parents of the child (if they are living), and those who have adopted him. In the first place it is more than likely that they are close relations, often living together at the time of the adoption. If this is suggested through some breakup in the child's family it is likely that one or both of the parents will move further away. It is said that great respect and friendship is set up between the two families. But there are many cases where the families never have anything to do with each other. In one instance the foster mother quickly removed the child if she happened to encounter the real mother on the street. In another case there was definitely ill-feeling between the two families when a girl's own father tried to get hold of the horses her adopted father was setting aside for 597

[p. 30-A]

Some say the child retains the band membership 621 of his own father, or if the father is unknown or 597 a white man, he should belong to his mother's father's group. 851 Others insist that the child belongs to the band of his foster parents and his children belong there also. However, band affiliations seem easily changed to fit circumstances, for both children and adults. Loyalties seem to be to the group with which one is living, as was true in the old days.

UNCOMPLETED ADOPTIONS

Not all adoptions are completed. There are 597 cases where tentative arrangements have been made and then cancelled. Many years ago there were two married brothers, the younger one having a small daughter. The wife of the older brother frequently took the child to her own tent and kept her until her mother fetched her away. One day, the mother came for the baby [551] and, after nursing her, she gave her the name, Kept-to-Oneself. When she heard this the older brother's wife told her husband, "We had better not take the child again. I don't think they will let it go. I heard them giving it the name Kept-to-Oneself." So they dropped the whole idea of adoption which had been in their minds. In this way no request was made and no refusal given, but the mind of each party was clearly revealed to the other.

More outright refusals may be given when a direct request is made. But my impression, and it is only an impression, is that in most cases the feelings of all concerned are known before any formal request is made.

As an indication of how uncertain a thing adoption can be there is the instance of a young boy who was adopted twice. He was adopted when he was four or five years old by his mother's sister and her husband, who had no children and were anxious to have one. A year or so later this couple separated and a former husband of the boy's mother more or less forced the foster father into letting the child go to him. Since the child has grown up he speaks of both men as "father" but has little to do with either.

POSITION OF THE AGENCY

So far as the Agency is concerned only those 657 adoptions which follow the regular Canadian 597 legal procedure are recognized (John Pugh, Indian Agent for the Blood Reserve, personal communication). But few Indians take the trouble to comply with these laws and there is nothing in the Indian Act which provides for legalizing an Indian custom adoption. 657 597

However, if a child leaves its own home and goes to live elsewhere, requests are often made to have its name transferred to the new household on the Treaty list. Treaty and Interest money is payable to the head of the family in which the child is living, unless special arrangements have been made. There are cases where parents have attempted to get the child returned to them, usually at the time when Treaty and Interest money is about to be paid.

There is only one recent case of adoption through court procedure on the Agency records. In this case the child was adopted by his mother's mother and her husband. However, the Indians say the child is now back with his mother again, because his grandmother left her husband, and went to live with her daughter, the child's mother.

Property disputes involving adopted children appear to be rare. If a man dies without voicing or writing a will he is considered intestate and one third of his property goes to his widow and the rest to his children or their heirs. Only if a child were legally adopted could he inherit under these conditions. He could inherit under a will but he might have his claims contested by close relatives of the deceased. If a child is adopted in the Indian fashion, but not legally, he can claim against the estate of his own parents when they die. But legal adoptions necessitate relinquishing all claims on the parents. 597 428

CONCLUSION

The Blackfoot picture is not unique. It follows a general Plains pattern. Lowie (1912:219) reporting on the Crow, mentions the frequent adoptions of small children by their grandparents. It was even stated as customary for a young couple to give their firstborn child to the father's parents. With the Blackfoot grandparent adoptions it seems to be equally the mother's and father's family which is involved, with perhaps a bias towards the former. It must be remembered that this also includes all the instances where illegitimate children are cared for by the mother's family, as one would naturally expect. 171 597 [848]

Among the Crow the children of fellow clansmen may be adopted and, under these circumstances, presents are expected from the parents in return or the trouble of bringing up 171 597 431

[P32-B]

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of sign-functions (Eco 1976:21-28, 48-51 explicitly applies semiotics to the analysis of cultural phenomena other than language). The semioticist states, "A code establishes general *types*, therefore producing the rule which generates concrete *tokens*, i.e., signs such as usually occur in communicative processes" (Eco 1976:50-51). Blankets in the giveaways are tokens. Scaled from expensive Pendleton and Hudon's Bay wools through synthetics to sheets and finally pillowcases and dollar bills, the "blankets" are dense signs communicating three messages: the giver's ethnic affiliation choice, his or her social network, and the status the giver claims for the honored person.

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The first function of the giveaway is to communicate the Indian ethnic affiliation chosen by the giver. From the 1880s, when the extinction of the bison herds destroyed the foundation of the Northern Plains Native way of life, the Indian communities have been encapsulated within the Anglo-American plural society. This structure provides the person of Native descent the option (in theory, if not, in many cases, in practice) of aligning with the Anglo-American dominant society. Then person of Native descent usually also has the option of remaining within the Indian band in which he or she was enrolled as a child, or can claim the right to enrollment. The Anglo-American governments' concept of Indian bands as subordinate nations under treaty status confers many privileges, including freedom from many taxes, to enrolled Indians. Recognized Indians are eligible for positions of prestige, and increasingly of power and good remuneration, in organizations within or funded by governments to serve Indians. The person of Native descent may choose to repudiate Indian status in order to attempt to achieve a satisfying position as a practitioner of the dominant Anglo-American cultural pattern, or he or she may perceive a greater likelihood of achieving satisfactions through roles marked "Indian". For the latter, it is necessary to affirm publicly the choice of Indian affiliation: "when you're an Indian, you have to go through all this."

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The giveaway signals Indian affiliation because popular ideology, both Native and Euro-American, contrasts the Indian value of conspicuous generosity with the Anglo-American value of conspicuous accumula-

[P.23-B]

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did. The composition of a band could be perceived, however, in winter by the clustering of tipis in valley-bottom camps isolated from other band encampments, and in summer by their clustering in sections of the tribal circle at Sun Dance rendezvous. When the reservations were established, bands became hamlets. The population doubling of the past quarter century has blurred the boundaries of networks, in part of younger Indians seeking employment elsewhere when hamlet lands could not support additional families farming or ranching, in part by government housing programs erecting new homes on tracts selected without regard to network centers. The giveaway distribution list supplants the traditional residential clustering as a delineation of the Indian communities' basic transfamilial units.

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The third function of the modern Norhtern Plains giveaway is status ranking. The amount and value of goods given should roughly reflect the value of the honored person to the community. The grand gesture of giving away horses in honor of Miss Alberta Indian Princess indicates the prestige brought to the whole reserve by the young lady's triumph; the extended giving in honor of longtime tribal councilman W— B— and of committeeman Swimmer was congruent with the services rendered by these gentlemen. Conversely, the smaller giveaway for S— A— the young dancer, and the mere five dollars donated by Mary G— at her grandson's first powwow dancing were proper considerations of the lesser statuses of these younger persons. The giveaway is not supposed to be an arena for overt competition for status through lavish giving. Mrs. B—'s daughter proposed holding a giveaway to honor her parents while both were alive, but her father-in-law advised her that a giveaway without a status-change occasion would be "showing off." A giveaway in good taste validates status but does not itself materially alter it.

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There are obvious similarities between the Northern Plains giveaway and the Northwest Coast potlatch. Both are public proclamations of status claim, both use blankets as tokens. Drucker and Heizer's (1967:8) statement, "The potlatch must be regarded as a formal procedure for social integration, its prime purpose being to identify the member-

[P. 24-B]

38: Doty G-3 (1855) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

A Visit to the Blackfoot Camp

by

JAMES DOTY

edited by Hugh A. Dempsey

Editor's Note: In 1855, the American government arranged to sign a treaty with the Blackfoot and other tribes on the Upper Missouri River. Isaac I. Stevens, who was in charge of the negotiations, wanted to have as many chiefs of the tribes present as possible. Accordingly, he sent his assistant, James Doty, on an expedition into southern Alberta to contact any bands of Indians which normally hunted or traded on American territory. He was instructed to contact all "American" Indians (as opposed to the more northern "British" Indians) to inform them of the treaty conference. 175 114 728

The treaty, which was signed on October 17th, 1855, attempted to establish peaceful relations among the warring tribes and with the American government. It also gave the tribes $20,000 annually in gifts for ten years and $15,000 annually for the introduction of agriculture and education. 175 728 657

The report of Doty's journey reproduced here is from a manuscript copy in the U.S. National Archives. In places his exact route is difficult to trace, but he was the first man to report visiting Writing-on-Stone and his most northerly penetration was within the present Blackfoot Indian Reserve, east of Calgary. 101 [127]

[P.17-A]

been with Catlin when he witnessed the 114
ceremony (Kipp, pp. 436–438).

Since the days of that historic contro- 171
versy, the practice of self-torture in tribal 175
sun-dance ceremonies has been reported, on 785
reliable authority, as once characteristic of the Arapaho, Arikara, Assiniboin, Canadian Dakota, Cheyenne, Crow, Gros Ventres, Hidatsa, Oglala Dakota, Plains Cree, Plains Ojibway, Sarcee, Sisseton Dakota, and the three Blackfoot tribes (Spier, pp. 473–475). Furthermore, brief accounts have been published of ceremonial self-torture, witnessed as early as 1805, among the Arikara and Hidatsa by the fur traders Pierre-Antoine Tabeau and Charles Mackenzie (Tabeau, pp. 191–193; Mackenzie, pp. 354–357).

It seems most probable that some Plains 175
tribes practiced forms of self-torture in the 785
period before first white contact.

Among the Plains Indian tribes of the 171
United States the practice of self-torture
was prohibited more than 60 years ago. 785
This ban resulted from the combined op- 657
position of missionaries and the civil and military branches of the Federal Government to such self-imposed cruelties, which tended to excite the Indians, to perpetuate both Indian-white and intertribal hostilities, and to make difficult the process of civilization and Christianization of the Indians.

Published descriptions of self-torture 114
among these tribes have been primarily of
two kinds. Some were eye-witness accounts 785
of interested but untrained white observers who not infrequently misinterpreted the purpose of the torture as a ceremony for "making braves." Others were based on the testimony of older Indians who had witnessed the tortures some years earlier but had not experienced torture themselves. Detailed case histories from the mouths of men who had submitted themselves to torture are few and fragmentary in the extensive literature on the sun dance.

Self-torture survived in the sun dances of 785
the Blood and North Blackfoot Indians of 178
southern Alberta for a few years after its
discontinuance among the Plains tribes of
this country. In the course of field work on 101
the Blood Reserve in September, 1947, the 115

Then I took my robe and walked out of the 785
medicine lodge alone. I went to a lonely place
and fasted for a night. I wanted to dream. But
I couldn't sleep at all because of the pain. At [782]
sunrise I prayed to the sun.

Some time after that I saw a man approaching
on horseback. He said, "I'm going to take 752
you home right away." He took me up behind
him on his horse and rode me slowly back to
camp. My breasts were swollen and hurt. The
rider's name was Red Crane. He told me of a [796]
mix-up that took place at the sun dance over [721]
horses stolen from the Gros Ventres.

When I got to my lodge, my mother gave me something to eat. She and my father told me what had happened at the sun dance gathering —a mix-up between the Mounted Police and Indians.[3] I had to stay in the lodge several days. My breasts were so swollen I could hardly move. Indian doctors used herb medicines to take the swelling away and cure my wounds.[4]

The common elements in these two accounts 785
reveal the pattern of the self-torture
experience among the Blood Indians more
clearly and completely than the brief description
of the ordeal previously published
by McLean. This experience was initiated 785
by a warrior through a vow to the celestial
deities, sun or moon (the latter in Blackfoot 726
belief was sun's wife), very shortly before 776
the man exposed himself to danger. The
vow was a simple, direct appeal to the 789
deity for protection and success in the immediate,
hazardous undertaking. In return
for such aid the petitioner promised to make 785
the self-torture sacrifice in the sun dance 796
lodge of his people. On return home after
the successful exploit the pledger made
known his vow to his relatives. They helped
him to obtain the services of one or more
older men who had been through the ordeal
and were qualified, therefore, to instruct and
care for the young man in the ceremonial
fulfillment of his vow. The public cere-

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[3] In the summer of 1889, the Mounted Police sought to apprehend Calf Robe, a Blood horse [127] [657]
thief, who sought sanctuary in the medicine lodge of his people. The Indians overpowered the police and set Calf Robe free, but there was no bloodshed (Steele, pp. 262-265). This incident serves to verify the year of Scraping White's and Heavy Head's torture.

[4] These narratives follow as closely as possible the words of the interpreter. In a few places details obtained during further questioning of the informants have been inserted. [128]

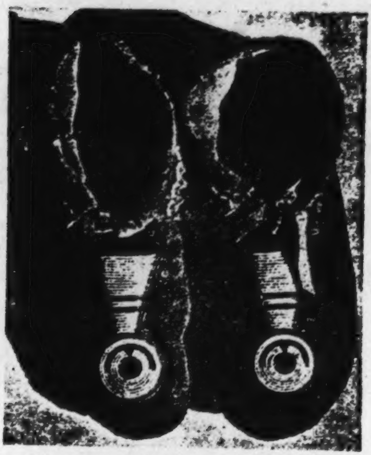
[P.170-B]

Plains Indians to observe the self-torture 185
ceremony. After their 1891 performance of 178
the torture it was prohibited by the Indian
Department and the Mounted Police. A [650]
year earlier the North Blackfoot had been
persuaded to abandon torture (Ann. Rept.,
pp. 83–84). The Piegan eliminated torture
from their sun dances at least 20 years
earlier. Weasel Head (born about 1860), for
many years a prominent weather dancer in
the South Piegan sun dance, told the writer
before his death in 1943, that he had never
seen the torture performed in the sun dance
of his tribe, although he recalled that as a
youth he had seen older men who bore the
scars of torture. Red Plume (born ante 185
1850), informed Curtis that he had seen the
torture rites in the Piegan sun dance only 175
four times, thrice when a small boy and 178
once when a young man. Each time a
single man had submitted to the torture.
Red Plume attributed the discontinuance
of self-torture in the Piegan sun dance to
the warning of a North Piegan weather
dancer that "they would die if they gave
their bodies to the sun" (Curtis, vol. 6, p.
55). Clark Wissler (p. 262) and Walter
McClintock (p. 320) reported the persistence
of this belief among the Piegan in the
first decade of the present century.

Wissler (p. 263) believed that self-torture 185
had not become thoroughly adjusted to its
place in the Piegan sun-dance ceremony at 184
the time it was abandoned. On the other
hand, the torture appears to have found
much more favor among the neighboring
Blood Indians. McLean (p. 236), stated
that from two to five men underwent this
torture every year in the Blood sun dance.
Whereas the Piegan seem to have abandoned
torture as a result of native fear and
distaste for the ceremony, the Blood continued
to practice it until they were compelled
by Government authorities to give it
up.

Wissler (pp. 263–264) was inclined to 185
credit a Piegan tradition that the Blackfoot
tribes borrowed the torture ceremony from 177
the Arapaho. There still exist among the 171
Piegan vague but persistent traditions of a
group of Blood Indians who sojourned for a 173
number of years with the Arapaho in the
early part of the nineteenth century. Chey-

[P.171-B]



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72. Modern moccasins decorated with traditional design.

MODERN BLACKFEET CRAFTS

In the first thirty-five years of this century the native crafts of the Blackfeet declined both in quantity and quality. The best examples of Blackfeet handicrafts usually were the articles made as gifts for friends and relatives to use in their native ceremonies and social dances. Some articles were sold to tourists as souvenirs of their visits to the Indian country. The tourist trade was a desultory, unorganized business, and many of the articles bought by uncritical tourists were poorly made, unworthy of the Blackfeet tradition of fine craftsmanship. 178 [431] 439

Then in 1936, the Blackfeet Craft Shop was organized, under the sponsorship of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and the Education Division of the United States Indian Service. Its aim was not only to revive the Blackfeet tradition of expert craftsmanship, but to make craftwork a source of income to the Indians by encouraging greater production, and finding a market for the finished articles among people who appreciate the aesthetic and monetary value 474 411 [657] [439] [178]

[P·61-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 63-71]

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539 Otáitsiniχ́kani einíua, nápi-
657 koàiks annó nitsítapamiskokinan.
[262] Nitsítomatapisokinàniau ápotski-
nauksisakùi, áiksinioksisakùi, ái-
siksikimì ki nápiniwan, napaiíni.
Nimátauχkokinàniau náipistsi,
æstotóχsi. Pitsistúyi nimátaχsi-
tsiχ́pinan amóistsi auáuaχsists
ki æstotóχsists, ki nimátatoχ-
kuiχ́kaspinan. Einíua áitsiniχ́-
539 kau. Mátatoχkòãχpinan, sótæm-
657 omaupiχ́pinan. Mátsisæmòa Na-
231 áχsinàna nitsítoχkokinau skí'miks
- akaiími. O'mæχksinokã`mitaiks
nimátoχkokinan. Nitsiikítokakiχ́-
pinàniau. Mátakauòa istuyísts,
itakáiimi nótàsinàniks. Naáχsi-
nàna stǽmsksinìm, nitsitokǽksi-
nani nótàsinàniks. A'potskinaiìks
nitátoχkokinan. A'isaiã`χkumiks
nimátoχkokinan. Amóksi pono-
kã'mitaiks ǽnni nanistsǽmmæχ-
pinan, nitúyi ápotskinaiks nanis-
tsítokakiχ́pinan. Nepús táipoki-
iχ́pinan matúyiχ́kuyi. Nitáu-
koskoanàni nitápotskinaminàniks.
Matuyísts nitáiisoanàniau. A'i-
pusi nitsítæsæskoanàniau. Itáumat-
[422] apsaikuyìau. Aipstsíksisæmèpus
omíksi unistáχsiks nitǽstsanan.
Nímoχtæsksinoanàni nitsinána-
niks. A'iikakaiìmi nitápotskina-
minàniks, nótàsinàniks. Nokú-
539 nanists mistsóyis. Naáχsinàna
657 nitáuχkokinan itáuyosòpi ki itái-
[342] ksistoχsoyòpi. Nimátunnotspinan.
[352] Nokúnanists pistóχtsi sokápiau,
akauóyi sekánists ki náipistsiks

hard [and] strong. Our horses were not big. They beat these big horses of nowadays, because they were hard.

When the buffalo were gone, the whites drove us up here. They began to feed us with beef, bacon, coffee and sugar, flour. They gave us blankets, [and] clothing too. In the first place we did not like these kinds of food and clothing, and we could not do anything. The buffalo were gone. We had no place to go to, we became stationary. It was not long afterwards, then the Government [literally: our grandfather] gave us many mares. The Government gave us big horses [i. e. stallions] too. We took very good care of them. A few years afterwards we had many horses. The Government knew then, [that] we took good care of our horses. Then they gave us cattle too. They gave us bulls too. Just the same as we looked after the horses, we looked also after the cattle. In summer we cut the grass. We built houses for our cattle. We fed them with hay. In summer we drove them out. They began to have calves. After a little while in summer we branded the calves. From that we knew our own. We had a great many cattle, [and] horses. Our houses were log-cabins. The Government gave us cooking-stoves and heating-stoves. We were not hungry. Inside our houses were good, with lots of bedding

53:-Uhlenbeck L-5 (1910-1911) 1912 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

ki ámoi, moyísts ómåχtaisokàpiχ́p.

Aiáu, áutstsiu nímoχtakskìmmatapspinàni. Naáχsinana nitáutomokinan nímoχtæstsinaχpinanists. Nimátatsiksistoχkokinànats. Amóksi nápikoàni áutòiau ómim nitsítuniχ́pinan. Á′nniksimàukiau, itokóiiskàiau. Nitáuχpummoanàniau. Mátakauòa istuyísts nitápotskinaminàniks ki áχsiks nótàsinàniks itsitápitsiniχ́kùii. Á′nniksimaie nítsinokinani. A′nnoχkaie omík nitsístsitsaumatapatåχsinàni nápiapìi, nítskitståχpinàni manistsíkimmatàpspinan. Ā′nnóχk nitáiskaχpinan. A′moksi å′χpummoaiks nitáisauatskaksinakyatsokinaniau. Kénni.

and blankets and anything, that 539
makes houses good [literally: 657 ●
houses are good from]. [352]

Alas, now came that, we were to become poor from. The Government took our ration-tickets [literally: we draw our rations with] away from us. They did not give us anything more for nothing. These whites came over there into 539
our agency. There they were, 439
they built houses. We buy from 177
them. After not many years our cattle and our good horses were all gone to them. They are the ones, that broke us. Now we beat [the time], when long ago we first started to go the white man's way, in being poor [literally: as we are poor]. Now we are broken. These traders will not let us get anything on credit. And that is all.

Boys' experiences.

1. Itáinikiopi ksiskæniáutunii nisótæmepuau nisitói áitoto iχ́táiksistsikùmiop. Nisótæmautoto, nisótæmautsiχ́p nitsǽmmokå̀n ki nisókàsim. Nisótæmoχto, nitsítataχpi nótàs. Nisótæminau, nitsítaχkapi, nitsitáketoau. Nisótæmepi, nitsítsapotot. Nisótæmatsaks, nitsítamiaupi, nitsítsakapomaχk. Nitsítsææskoaii ápotskinaiks. Ki otáumatàpioyisàu, nisótæmoχto ki omí mistáksku. Nisótæmaninisàu, nisótæmitaupi, nímoχtsi-

1. Friday in the morning I 539
got up at five o' clock. I built 512
a fire, I took my hat and my coat. I walked to [the place], where I had tied my horse. I cut him loose, I brought him home, I put the saddle on him. I then walked in, I put wood on the stove. Then I went out again, I got on my horse, I went out on horseback. I drove the cattle out [of the corral]. And when they began to eat, I

126 discoveries which bore upon my own culture, and upon my personal self.

My original journal was very detailed and very long, but not all portions of this volume appeared therein. Some of the Chief's stories were on tape and had to be transcribed in their entirety and inserted in a manner duplicating the time and the place of their original telling. Also, my subsequent visits with the Chief—and I have been spending more and more time among the Piegans—have produced additional information which has been added in the form of footnotes. Otherwise, nothing has been changed—and absolutely nothing has been contrived: these are the words and the actions; these are the feelings and the thoughts; these are the people.

622 Most important, of course, are the people, and foremost among
the people is the Chief. At this writing, the Old Fellow is well—and
[575] as dynamic as ever. His birthday was on May 10, but I gave him his
birthday party on Sunday, May 8, in conjunction with a meeting of
[527] the Crazy Dog Society. (I have been elected a member of the Crazy
[123] Dogs.) No record of the precise date of the Chief's birth has been
found, but since everything else he has ever told me has eventually checked out 100%, I accede to the Chief's belief that he was born on May 10, 1857, and consequently has just celebrated his 109th anniversary—assuredly he is well past the century mark.

622 Some time ago, the Chief told me that both his birth and his
baptism had been recorded by a Roman Catholic priest whom he
127 knew only by his Indian name, "Marten Cap," and it was in pursuit of my belief that "Marten Cap" was in reality a Jesuit missionary named Fr. Imoda that I came closest to establishing (verifying) the Chief's true age. In the records of old St. Peter's Mission, dated Dec. 31, 1875, entered in the hand of Fr. Imoda himself, I came upon the following: "*Ego C. Imoda S.J. prope flumen Natokiokas bapt. seq.* [I, C. Imoda, of the Society of Jesus, near Two Medicine River, baptised the following]." Listed then, in both English and Latin, were the baptismal names of seven of the children of Onistáipokah, the Chief's father. The Chief's Christian name ("James *Jacobum*") was among those listed, but since the Chief was by this time a well grown youth, and since Fr. Imoda was able to give only an approximation of his age at the time of baptism, the mystery lingers.

178 This journal, *Piegan*, was written less than four years ago, but
those four years have seen many changes, both great and small,
● [657] here on the Reservation. In Browning in "Moccasin Flat," there is
[511] scarcely a dwelling that does not now have inside water, electricity
and a television set (but precious few of them have an inside toilet).

him than they had to, and so the Blackfoots are the last American 177
Indians to retain anything resembling their pre-White culture, but
I saw very little today which could have served to sustain this reality.
Neither of the men with whom I was conversing was by any 122
means a vision of the Noble Amerind: the younger man, who was
generally reminiscent of pool halls, exuded all the masculinity of a
used Kleenex, while the older chap was small and skinny and had
on a corduroy cap with the ear-loppers tied at the top and was
wearing what appeared to be the Buster Brown-type of shoes that
I wore in grade school. What might have been Buster's saving grace
was a ready smile, but unfortunately his was ready for a dentosurgeon [164]
because those few teeth that had not already waved bye-bye
sported a lush overgrowth of moss and lichen along the gums, from
which they depended precariously. To an eye less wearied than
mine, his verdant incisors might have appeared as a selfless contribution
to the "Keep Montana Green" campaign, but I saw them
only as one more affront to my already moribund sensibilities. These
people were not the Blackfoots as I remembered them, and as darkness
came I drove back to Browning—a distance of about twenty
miles—in brave expectation of more reassuring social encounters.

Browning is the agency town of the Blackfoot Indian Reservation, 657
and it would be difficult to imagine a hamlet more isolated from the
conventional grind of civilization. Browning tickles the toes of the
Rocky Mountains; it is thirty-five miles from the nearest village of
consequence and about one hundred and thirty miles from anything
that might be considered a city of any size. But as I drove into the 000
town this evening I saw that the insidious same-making of the neon
sign had robbed even poor little Browning of those few villatic
charms which the place had possessed. (Damn neon signs anyway!
I think that the southern approach to Austin, Texas would be one of
the most inspiring sights in the world—the ladder of lights on Congress
Avenue paving a dignified and beautiful approach to the
magnificent pink granite Capitol Building—if it were not for the huge
neon hotel signs that overreach the Capitol itself and greet the
traveler or the home-comer with a nice fat commercial smack between
the eyes.)

But you can't hold back "progress," and nothing less than a neon 122
sign informed me that Browning has a shiny new gin-mill right in 275
the middle of town. But even gin-mills have their function (where
else can a stranger find somebody to talk to!), and after five days of
steady driving, plus three days of being trapped in a Bozeman
motel while the old Ford underwent surgery, I was not above seek-

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Chief is not one to bask in reflected glory. As a matter of fact, 622 the Chief is not one to bask even in his own glory—and he has plenty of it to bask in. The Chief's father, O-nis-tái-po-kah, is generally conceded to have been the greatest—certainly the most intelligent—civil chief within the history of the Plains Tribes, and the Chief himself certainly is the greatest Indian chief of this century. Aside from his accomplishments as an orator, administrator, and diplomat (these are his present-century achievements), the Chief in the old days went on a total of fourteen warpaths or horse-stealing missions. The scalp that the Chief has tied to the handle of his briefcase is a relic of the last recorded spilling of blood in intertribal [127] warfare on the Plains. The Chief mentioned casually one day that it is a Cree scalp (although historians have for some reason surmised that the scalp is Assiniboine) and if I could induce the old Chief to recite in detail his warpath adventures, I would have *some* book! But although the Chief is a great storyteller, he prefers to ignore his own experiences and to relate the glories of other Piegan warriors or to recite the ancient traditional Blackfoot legends.

On the way home I stopped at Stanley's place. Stanley, who was 122 branding colts in the corral, lives in a small white frame house suspended from an immense television antenna. I could not understand why Stanley should use such a complicated brand—the [422] largest brand I have ever seen, with very long bars running horizontally beneath the figure—but he cleared this question up nicely with, "Yah, my sister he's got his own saddles," and when I mentioned that I might drive up to Canada tomorrow to visit the Bloods (Canadian Blackfoots) Stanley said that he is a Blood and that he would like to "go along with" and visit his relatives. Some 619 persons might get a little picky about my referring to the Bloods as "Canadian Blackfoots," but although it is true that the Bloods, the [657] North Blackfoots and the North Piegans each have their own separate reservations ("reserves" the Canadians call them) across the line, it is also true that these three groups, along with the South Piegans of the United States, are all members of the Blackfoot Nation. The cultural ties among these separate branches of the Blackfoots are so close as to be almost indistinguishable one from the [197] other, and certainly the speech of these groups must be considered as dialects of the same language.

Stanley, my Blood friend, lives down here with his brother-in-law, 000 a young man named Earl Old Person. Earl is a Piegan and a member of the tribal council, and he told me that he wore his braids right up until the time he went into the army, at which time he cut

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

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Saturday, September 1

657 I had hoped that the Chief and Jimmy would return this morning, but they did not, so at 10:00 I picked up Stanley and drove over to Canada to visit the Bloods. The Blood Reserve is just across the border, at Cardston, Alberta. The Chief and Jim are at the North Blackfoot Reserve, at Gleichen, nearly two hundred miles away.

122 For an Indian, Stanley is quite talkative, and during the trip he entertained me with anecdotes and local color. Unfortunately, however, Stanley's knowledge of English is not breathtaking, and the brightness of his observations is obfuscated somewhat by a casual respect for tense, person, gender, voice, mood et al. On the way up he said, "She don't let that no liquor, that Canada—that's why she's came a here for drunk." Translation: Canada does not allow Indians to drink intoxicating beverages; that is why they go over to the States whenever they want to get drunk. Considering my very economical command of Blackfoot, though—not to mention my puisne standing as a linguist of any sort—I am scarcely in a position to be critical of friend Stanley's imperfect English. To learn a language which has no written form is a challenge in itself, but to learn a language so difficult as Blackfoot is a challenge supreme, and I

find very little balm in the knowledge that few other White persons 122
speak Blackfoot even as well as I. (Even in the old days, very few White men learned to speak or understand Blackfoot, finding it much easier to conduct their business through Cree or Assiniboine middlemen.)

But if I am inexpert in handling Stanley's native language, I *am* pretty good at handling Stanley's type of personality. North of St. Mary we had a flat tire, and I sat in the car, smug as a sultan, and graciously allowed Stanley to change the wheel all by himself—this, of course, in retribution for Stanley's having tricked me into carrying his saddle. I think that Stanley and I have an understanding now.

At first the flat and rather barren aspect of the Blood Reserve did 657
not compare favorably in my view with the beautiful lakes and streams and hills and good grass of the South Piegan Reservation down at Browning. I asked Stanley whether he knew the size of the Blood Reserve, and he surprised me with the information that it is sixty miles long and between twenty-five and thirty miles wide—a very substantial reserve, I must say. I asked Stanley what the 657
Bloods do for a living, and he said, "The most that she got here is 241
farms. That irrigation water belong for the Indians. They charge them with water, but they got no water, they." As we continued northward on the Reserve I observed that the land was indeed very productive agriculturally, with many prosperous-appearing farms and ranches. From what I was able to observe, irrigation was an issue only on the southernmost portion of the reserve; to the north there was good water and fine grazing and abundant crops. The scenery could not compare to the scenery to be enjoyed on the Chief's ranch, which is located in the northwest portion of the Piegan Reservation, but the Chief lives on land which, although good for grazing, will grow nothing but rocks.

Apparently feeling that he had corralled a sympathetic ear, Stanley 657
continued to gripe about the lot of the poor abused Canadian Indian, but I personally feel that most of Stanley's gripes are unfounded. There was a time when the Canadian Indian had an unfair shake, but this time is long since past; indeed, the United States could learn a lot from Canada about how the Indian problem (and it is a problem) could best be approached. I have examined the situation with minute care—including an exhaustive study of the Office Consolidation of the Indian Act—and when you have finished plowing through the legal terminology it all boils down to the fact that the Canadian Indian has got a *darn* good deal. The

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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[Blood Reserve]

●657 559 separate Indian bands of Canada comprise a total population
of some 210,000—the largest number of Indians that has ever lived
in Canada during historical times. Canadian Indians have just about
doubled their number since the turn of the century, and today they
are increasing at a rate higher than that of any other Canadian
racial or ethnic group.

Set aside for the use and betterment of Canadian Indians are
2,265 separate reserves, the largest of which occupies an area of
more than 500 square miles, and although the Indian may enter
freely into the contractual obligations of ordinary business and may
sue and be sued, his real and personal property held on a reserve
is exempt from both taxation and seizure except by another Indian.
[666] Add to this the fact that the Canadian Indian may vote at federal
elections on the same basis as other citizens (in provincial elections
[641] he is governed by the electoral laws of the province in which he
resides), and toss in protection by law against fraud and moral
corruption, and you have the Indian living in a pretty nice place.

The thing which impresses me most of all about the situation of
the Canadian Indian is the wide range of choices open to him.
Some bands in the outlying regions of Canada are taking advantage
of the same nomadic freedom which their ancestors enjoyed, while
other Indians (Canada encourages its Indians to take advantage of
the wide range of educational opportunities which are open to them)
are successful teachers, lawyers, doctors, dentists, clergymen, etc.
[656] It is true that Canadian Indians are required to carry an identification
card and that they are prohibited from using any form of intoxicant
except for medicinal purposes, but these things are designed
657 plainly to benefit and protect the Indian. Furthermore, a Canadian
641 Indian is an Indian not by the color of his skin but by legal definition;
should he wish to do so, any qualified Indian may relinquish his
Indian status and become enfranchised as an ordinary citizen of
Canada. (Enfranchisement qualifications required of an Indian are
in no way different from those qualifications required of any other
person desirous of obtaining Canadian citizenship, and an Indian
once enfranchised has no restrictions upon his life or conduct which
do not apply equally to any other citizen of the Dominion.) What
else could a man ask!

657 My most selfish delight concerning the condition of the Canadian
Indian derives from the fact that the paternalistic authority of the
Minister of Indian Affairs extends even to the enforced protection
of the Indian from any destruction or pilfering of his cultural and

[Blood Reserve]

religious inheritance. Such articles as Indian burial houses, totem poles, rocks bearing carved or painted inscriptions, etc. may not be sold or destroyed or removed from an Indian reserve without the written permission of the Minister, and although the Medicine Lodge was for a time prohibited by law, all aspects of this ceremony excepting the thong torture have now been reinstated. Severe government restriction on trade with the Indians has allowed the Canadian Indian to retain much of his traditional cultural identity, whereas in the United States the Indian reservations have been just about picked clean by traders and private collectors.

Canadian Indian policy has resulted in there being many more full-blood Indians north of the Line than in the United States, and whether you like it or not, the only vestiges of true North American Indian culture are to be found among Canadian Indians (and to a much lesser extent among the relatively few full-bloods still alive among the South Piegans of the United States). It is significant, I think, that even my Indian dad, the Chief of the Piegans, spent most of his early life in Canada and started on most of his war-parties from the old Blood camp on Belly River.

A public revelation of this fact invariably accelerates the consumption of Kaopectate among members of Southwestern chambers of commerce, but the "ancient Navajo crafts" of wool blanket-weaving and silversmithing are neither ancient nor indigenous to the Navajo culture. The Pueblos do have a long history of weaving cotton textiles, but the weaving of wool was introduced to the Navajo by the Spanish settlers in the Southwest and the first "Navajo" blankets were probably made by Navajo slaves who had escaped from their Spanish or Mexican masters. The working of silver—again something learned from the Mexicans—was not undertaken by the Navajo until the middle of the nineteenth century, the earliest examples of Navajo silvercraft dating back only to the period of the Civil War. The famous Navajo "squash blossom" beads are known to have been constructed originally in imitation of the pomegranate, a common Spanish decorative motif which was widespread even among such ancient cultures as the Moors, the Cretes and the early Greeks. From a linguistic point of view, a translation of the Navajo word which refers to the "squash blossom bead" suggests simply "bead which spreads out"; there is no evidence to indicate that the design of this bead in any way symbolizes a squash blossom. And the equally famous "Navajo" pendant of crescent design, the "Najahe" or "Naja," is known to have been fashioned after an Old World horse trapping—an amulet, usually fastened to the bridle, 000 wish anyone to become aware of the reason you will make it known. I am sure that I could live at the Chief's house for any length of time, without any questions about why I am here or why I don't get a job, etc. 122 [157]

Curiosity as to the Chief's destination gnawed me raw, though, and finally an opening came when Jim—after a prolonged study of the twelve-year-old calendar which has been retired on a nail above the washbasin—turned to me and asked, "What's the today?" I informed him that the today was Wednesday, September 5, 1962, and boldly followed up my advantage by inquiring why he wanted to know. He told me that some of the older Indians are eligible to receive government surplus food ("commodities," the local term is) such as rice, flour, powdered milk, lard, peanut butter, etc. The Chief was to pick up his commodities today, and this fact led into a very interesting discussion with Jim, who is a marvelous linguistic informant. Any linguist is aware that those autochthonous languages which have no written form are subject to constant and at times very rapid change, but I had no idea that so much of the Blackfoot language is of such recent—actually contemporary—vintage. As an example, Blackfoot terms for the days of the week are obviously less than a century old because they are phrases which suggest the life of the Blackfoots *after* they were confined to the White Man's reservation. Sunday is "Holy Day," or "The day upon which we attend church." Other days are identified by such terms as, "The day on which we receive our rations," "The day on which nothing happens," etc. 122 657● [115] 197

This was supposed to be the day on which we receive our rations, but it turned out to be the day on which nothing happens. In town I let Jim and the Chief off at the Tribal Office ("I'll jumped off here," said Jim), and while they conducted some business or other I went up to the Browning school and took some pictures of the kids on the playground. The school serves not only Browning but several neighboring communities, and all of the school children appeared to be either Indians or Swedes. The typical picture was that of a raven-tressed little Indian girl arm-in-arm with a cotton-blond playmate, and everybody appeared to be as happy and as healthy as could be —even the tiny ones were swinging high on the swings, hand-walking along the bars, and performing various other athletic feats. And something new has been added since I was in grade school: the kids crook a knee over the pipe railing along the sidewalk, grab their ankle, tuck the other leg in somehow, and whirl around like pinwheels. This appeared to be a girls' game—at least I did not see 122 [126] [524]

122 any of the boys participating. The girls—those little hams—were
[524] fighting to have movies made of themselves, but the boys, quite
[126] typically, were quick to run away. The boy with the three long
braids was there, but I could not get a good shot of him. Jim says
[302] that the boy's name is Door or Dore (sp?), and that his mother
rinses his lustrous long hair in tea.

122 After I had picked up Jim and the Chief, we drove out to the
126 Museum of the Plains Indian, on the "skirt" of town, as Jim says.
Outside the museum building there is an Indian version of Grauman's Chinese Theatre; many years ago the great chiefs of the Plains Tribes had their footprints recorded there in bronze. The Chief is the only one of these great chiefs still living, and I had a very strange feeling of anachronism—as though both the Chief and I belonged to a different period of history—as I took a photo of the Chief standing next to the footprints that he had made so long ago.

These cameras of mine are turning me into a genuine tourist, but thus far, at least, I have not begun to take pictures of *myself*.

122 We left the museum and went back in town and stopped at the
Agency, where the Chief was supposed to pick up his commodities.
657 I waited outside in the wagon, and pretty soon came the Chief,
622 minus rations but bursting with a fiercely contained dignity. Nobody
[262] said word one, and in silence we drove back to the ranch and had a
good lunch of porkchops (pig is *ák-sin-nee*, meaning "they grunt"), boiled potatoes, canned peas, bread and strawberry jam, and hot tea.

122 The Chief ate well, but in silence, and it was not until he had
seated himself in his chair in the living-room and leisurely finished
537 smoking a post-prandial cigar that he beckoned Jim and me close
657 and launched into the fiery and truly magnificent oratory for which
622 he has so long been famous. He sat very straight and tall, his fine,
orbicular head held high. And as the thunderous old voice rumbled, and the huge old hands sculptured power and beauty in the air, the oscillatory motion of the great brown jaw added a synchronal measure of authority to the old fellow's declarations.

The Chief was speaking rapidly, and he was using oratorical forms—not the simple phrases which he and Jim thoughtfully employ in addressing me—and I could not follow the discourse. A Blackfoot word which I knew to mean *card* or *ticket* was repeated several times, and during a pause for translation Jim explained that in this case the word was being used to refer to a ration card. The Chief had forgotten to take his ration card to town today, and the Agency had refused to issue him his commodities without it, and

the Old-timer had told them that he was still chief around here and 122
that he wasn't about to osculate anybody's posterior for a few groceries 537
and that if they wouldn't issue him his commodities without a 657
silly piece of paper then they could take their commodities and 622
stuff 'em. Instead of using the term *ist-tést-tin-ope:* ration card, or referring to *ní-moch-tèst-tin-àhp-pey:* my ration card, the Chief had showed his contempt for the situation by employing the word *gah-tsáh-tsis* which is usually reserved as a reference to playing cards or, infrequently, a colloquial reference to theatre tickets.

The Chief is really one of the great inspirations of my life. I find 122
back-scratching ecstasy in the knowledge that even today, in 622
the midst of a society which has so aptly been termed "effete and 657
pusillanimous," this gentle, fearless old Indian chief still has the
groin to tell the Federal Government where to go. Chief James 157
White Calf of the Piegan Blackfoots will give you his love and his possessions and his life with an open heart, but all the money in the world could not buy a single hair from his stubborn old braids. Pride. Real pride! There is so damn little of it to be found.

It is really a tear-jerking realization that the Chief is almost the 182
last survivor of a culture that will soon be gone completely. Even 178
Jim is tossed in the tempest of this dying culture. Jim is an Indian through and through—and I could pay him no higher compliment —but he is faced with the problem of earning a decent living, and in order to do so he must either play a role of dumb Indian or become an Imitation White Man, neither of which roles suits Jimmy at all.

Because of the fact that there is so much unemployment among 464
Indians—there simply is not enough work available—wide currency 181
is given to the fiction that Indians are lazy bums. This burns me! Aside from the small number of street-corner loafers—and every culture and every community has its share of these—most of the Indians of my acquaintance invest a full measure of some kind of
productive activity into each day. It really scorches my butt that 181
anyone would judge an entire ethnic group by the conduct of a few drunken panhandlers, but this is precisely what a large number of persons do. They fail to take into consideration the fact that for every street-bum in an Indian community as well as in their own community there are hundreds of decent citizens at home patching the roof or washing the kids or reading the Bible.

When I left Montana four years ago, Jimmy was working at a 464
lumberyard. I was there when the man drove up and said, "Do you want to work, Jim?" Jim, who was busily trimming cedar posts,

464 said, "Yah, I want to work." The man said, "When can you start?"
Jim said, "Right now," and handing me the axe he said, "*Sáh-koh-y-nah*, you fix Dad he's lunches." And Jim went to work. Since that
time he has been a janitor, a carpenter, a painter, a laborer . . . you
name it! He has also done a lot of fire fighting. The Blackfoots, as
[368] well as the other tribes in this area, are always on call to fight serious
forest fires—sometimes they are flown to the scene of a conflagration
as distant as Colorado or California—and they are the very best at
that work.

Jim seldom if ever quits a job; the work runs out, that's all. And even when unemployed, Jim never spends an idle day. When no other source of income is available, he cuts fenceposts and firewood, hoping that he can find a buyer. I felt a tug at my guts when I discovered the other day that Jim had invested some of his few dollars in a mail order detective course—anything to try to establish himself in some sort of profession. Of course, Jim did not tell me this; I found portions of the course in his room.

427 Jim's real dream is to be able to lease some more land and to
build up his own herd of cattle. The grass is fine here, and Jim has a
426 pretty good string of horses, but the winters are hard and long, so
Jim needs a pretty substantial loan to winter a herd the first year.
[643] He has tried to get a loan authorized by the Tribal Council, but to
no avail. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which was in great
657 measure beneficial (or at least so intended) to the Indians but
622 which also opened the door to petty political shenanigans on the
Reservation, deprived the Chief of any real authority and placed
him rather in the position of a contemporary European king. The
[643] Canadian Indians still retain their band chiefs, but on the Piegan
Reservation it is the Tribal Council which handles business and
political affairs, including the tribal funds and the employment, for
427 whatever purpose, of tribal lands. A great deal of the best Blackfoot
grazing land has already been leased to White ranchers, and this is
648 a sore point with the Chief. He continually exhorts the Tribe to uti-
311 lize in their own endeavors more of the Reservation's resources,
185 to raise more cattle of their own. But there are racketeers even
622 among Indians, and the Chief has a lot of opposition. Several years
ago, somebody actually took a shot at him. The bullet is still in the
living-room wall.

643 Jim did tell me that he ran for Tribal Council but did not make it. Jim is a full-blood, and the Council is controlled by the breeds, the so-called "educated" Indians, and by those Blackfoots who play up to the politicians and to the large land-holding Whites of the region.

Jim says that some of the Tribal Council members have been 643
pretty square and have sincerely attempted to benefit the Tribe as a
whole, but that a great many of the members have been no better
than the law allows. The Chief is definitely unhappy with the 622
Wheeler-Howard Act (The Indian Reorganization Act), and from 657
what I have been able to learn, even old Senator Wheeler, who was
in large part responsible for the introduction of the Act, is not exactly
overjoyed with the results of this piece of legislation. The Chief 622
states flatly that the Tribal Council since its very inception has peculated 643
like poultry on a worm ranch, and although the Chief's claims
against the Council are admittedly eristical they are certainly not
totally lacking in substance. The Chief described in detail some of [661]
the more questionable episodes of the Council's reign, and some of
them, including a reputed sojourn in Mexico by Council members at
tribal expense, would definitely bear looking into. The Council meets
tomorrow, and I am going to attend the meeting.

When the Chief had properly barbecued the Wheeler-Howard 622
Act and the Tribal Council, he launched into a tirade against the 657
treaties which the Federal Government has made with (perpetrated 648
against) the Blackfoot Nation. The Chief's formal education was
limited to a short period of attendance at the Fort Shaw Indian [871]
School (at which time he was already a grown man), and Jim went
only as far as the fourth grade, but Jim reads omniverously and both
he and the Chief are remarkably well informed on Blackfoot history
and on the current political situation involving the American Indian.
The Chief has very definite ideas about how the Indian's position
could be better through various legislative acts and abrogations on
the part of the Federal Government, and the old fellow does not
confine his protests to monological grumbling; he directs a torrent
of correspondence to both his United States Senator and the Commissioner
of Indian Affairs.

The early treaties between the Plains Indian Tribes and the 648
United States Government were, of course, not designed to benefit
the Indian but to protect the White migrants and settlers who had
begun to invade Plains Indian territory. The White Man was encroaching
upon Indian land and the Indian was doing his damnedest
to prevent it, but the probability is that most of the Whites killed
by Plains Indians prior to the Civil War period had simply happened
into the path of a war party which was out to war upon an enemy
tribe.

The first White Man's treaty to effect the Blackfoots was the 175
Treaty of Fort Laramie. Acting upon the naïve assumption that the 648

648 honorable people, this made the Blackfoots fair game for a dirty
175 deal. The White settlers were clamoring for more Blackfoot land, and they got it. Additional treaties were made between the United States and the Blackfoot Nation in 1865 and in 1869; neither treaty was ratified by Congress and so never became United States law, but the ceded land in question was nevertheless thrown open to White settlement. What did the Blackfoots know of congressional ratification! So far as they knew, when a treaty was made, it was made! Who can blame the Blackfoots for becoming perturbed when the payments that they had been promised upon signing the treaties were not forthcoming?

In 1871, the Congress decided to hell with the whole farcical motion of making treaties with the Indians. Thereafter there would be no treaties—indeed, from that time onward the Congress would no longer recognize the sovereignty of any individual Indian tribe.
648 From then on, an Indian was an Indian and the only good Indian was a dead Indian and in 1873–74, by presidential orders and con-
175 gressional acts, the southern boundary of the Blackfoot territory was
657 shoved northward over two hundred miles and the land thrown open to White farmers and stockmen. No payment for the land was made to the Blackfoots, and arbitrarily the Blackfoots, the Gros Ventres, the Assiniboines, and the River Crow Indians were all placed upon the same reservation. The instigator of this congressional action was one Martin Maginnis, Montana's territorial delegate in Washington. Maginnis, who was nothing but the willing tool of Montana's land-hungry White pressure groups, has overcome stiff opposition to win my nomination as the rottenest politician in the history of Montana. In opposition to Maginnis was Blackfoot Agent R. F. May, whose courageous championing of the rights of his Indian charges resulted in his being dismissed from his post. May was succeeded as Agent by John Wood, a man with no administrative experience who had recently been a city marshal in the State of Iowa.
[622] When Chief White Calf (Onistáipokah), my Indian grandfather, who had by this time become *de facto* head chief of the Piegans, complained to Wood against the taking by the Whites of the finest portions of Blackfoot land, Wood replied that the Indians had more land than they needed and that if each Indian would cultivate ten acres of soil he could easily support ten persons for the entire year. One prominent ethnologist and historian (who incidentally has spent nearly his entire career in government employ) has referred to Wood's statement as a "common sense argument." This attitude conveniently ignores the facts that the Blackfoots were hunters, not

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farmers, and that the Blackfoot land in question was, for reason of soil, climate and other factors, totally unsuited to agriculture.

But still the Whites pressed for more and yet more of Blackfoot land. No sooner had the Whites succeeded in killing off the last of the buffalo herds—the great northern herd, which had grazed primarily in the Blackfoot hunting grounds—than our old friend, Delegate Maginnis, introduced into the House of Representatives a bill designed to deprive the Blackfoots of this rich expanse of grazing land and to open the area to White settlement. This time Maginnis found opposition; the Commissioner of Indian Affairs objected to the bill on the grounds that any further land cessions should be negotiated with the Indian tribes involved. The Congress, deciding that henceforth the Indian should be cheated of his lands with all due legality, acquiesced in favor of the Commissioner's position and proceeded to authorize, in May, 1886, the appointment of the Northwest Commission for the purpose of negotiating in the field with the "Sioux, Assiniboine, Gros Ventre and Blackfoot Indians of Montana" for the cession of "so much of their land as they do not require, in order to obtain the means to enable them to become self-supporting, as a pastoral and agricultural people, and to educate their children in the paths of civilization."

With regard to cession of additional lands to the United States Government, the Indians had absolutely no choice. With the buffalo gone, the Indian had no way of surviving without assistance from the Federal Government, and the only thing the Indian possessed with which to barter for Government supplies was his land.

But the portion of Indian land now sought by the Government —some 17,500,000 acres, or nearly nine-tenths of the entire Blackfoot Reservation—was immense, and the Northwest Commission was cut to the quick upon learning that the Blackfoots, under the leadership of the intelligent and knowledgeable Onistáipokah, were not eager to accept the paltry sum of 1½ million dollars for this tremendous expanse of some of the finest grazing land on the North American continent. The chiefs demanded 3 million dollars for their land (an amount still far below the going price for Montana land at that time) and in a communication to the Secretary of the Interior we find the Commissioner whining that "the Indians had been tampered with by designing white men whom we found at the Agency—men who hoped to gain some advantage to themselves, in one way or another." I have been unable to find any record of exactly who these "designing white men" were supposed to have been, nor have I located any explanation of exactly how these men

648 might have benefited from the Indian's receiving a fair price for his
657 land (which was to be paid for not in money but in such things as
commodities, livestock, medical and educational facilities, etc.),
175 but the Report of Negotiations of the Commissioners states that it required "long and patient reasoning" to induce the Indians to accept as payment the per annum sum of $150,000 for ten years.

According to the Chief, who in company with his father, Onistái-pokah, was actually present at this land sale, the only tampering with the Indians was done by the commissioners themselves; "long and patient reasoning" by the commission consisted in their threatening the minor chiefs, who had been assigned by the Agent to such petty posts of authority as policeman or judge, that if they did not agree to the terms laid down by the commission it would mean the loss of their jobs. This land sale, which included the sale of the Sweetgrass Hills and became the basis of what the Blackfoots later called the Sweetgrass Claim, was described to me by the Chief:

> When we sold the Sweetgrass Range it was cold weather, but there was not very much snow on the roads and I was able to drive my father to the meeting in a wagon. The meeting was held at Joe Kipp's trading post, at Old Agency. At this time my father was head chief of the Piegans, but all the minor chiefs were there as well, and everybody took a vote on how much they would ask for Sweetgrass Range. My father did not wish to sell for less than $3,000,000, but some of the others, who did not know the value of a dollar, were anxious to accept the Government's offer of 1½ million. On my father's side were Mad Wolf, Wolf Plume, Double Runner, Lone Gun, and Eagle Ribs. On the opposing side were Bear Chief, Three Sun, Calf Sitting, White Grass, Horn, Gambler, and several others.
>
> My father asked $3,000,000 for the Sweetgrass Range because he felt that when the Government offered the Indian a price for anything, the price could be doubled and the Indian still would not be getting a fair deal. But no Piegan chief ever had complete authority—not even the head chief. All the chiefs took a vote, and the vote of the head chief counted no more than any other vote. My father and his supporters were outvoted by a large majority led by Bear Chief and Big Nose [Three Sun], so the Sweetgrass was sold for 1½ million.
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> Those who opposed my father on this issue—including Big Nose, who was band chief of the Grease Melters, and a notorious drunkard—were so ignorant that they did not even know

how much a dollar was worth. The commissioners attempted 648
to show these men how much value the money represented by 657
using beans. They opened a one-hundred-pound sack of beans 175
and counted the beans into a barrel. Each bean was intended to represent ten dollars, the value of the bean being suggested by the commissioners' pointing to some article in the trading post, or to a horse or a cow or a wagon, and then showing how many beans would be required to purchase that particular item.

Then each Indian present at the meeting counted one hundred beans into the barrel, each in turn, until the proper amount had been arrived at. There were over two hundred Piegan men at the meeting, and when they had counted around only once, Bear Chief and Big Nose and some of the others said that that was all they wanted because now they had enough money to last them the rest of their lives. Then my father told them that they hadn't yet counted even half of the amount the Government had offered, so they listened to him.

When finally the amount of payment was settled, Big Nose said that he wanted the payment to be made to the Indians in cash. And then my father spoke, and I remember his words:

"Do you remember the time we were coming home from the war party down at Cree House! Do you remember how cold it was! Do you remember that we burned bunch grass to warm ourselves because we had no other fuel! If we take this payment in money and give it to the people, the money will disappear as fast as that bunch grass burned. We will see to it that the money is used in the manner most profitable to our people. We will use the money to buy for the people cattle—and horses and machinery and other things that they will need in order to raise the cattle. We do not want gardens, and we do not want any chickens or hogs or sheep. Our land is grazing land, and now that the buffalo are gone we must graze cattle."

My father had his way, and he went personally to Washing- 648
ton to see the President and to ask that most of the payment 657
for the Sweetgrass Range be made to the Indians in the form of 175
heifers and bulls, and also some big Morgan stallions to breed
into our horse herds. 233

Finally the Government sent us a thousand heifers, but once again there was argument amongst the Piegans. My father wanted to summer the cattle on the western part of the Reservation; in this way the herd would be kept near our homes where we could keep an eye on them. But the agent wanted to

648 graze the herd on the eastern part of the Reservation, and once
657 again my father and his supporters were outvoted. The cattle
175 were summered on the east side, and when we rounded them
233 up that fall nearly half of them were missing. I don't know who stole them—it might have been Whites, or half-breeds, or the Agent himself—but the cattle were gone.

657 The culprit in this case almost certainly was the Agent who, like
233 most agents and supervisors of the Blackfoot Reservation before and since, had private cattle interests bordering Reservation land.
[422] The Chief says that the Agent would not allow the Indians to brand the cattle, and that it was rumored that the Agent had his own cowboys run part of the herd off and affix to them his own brand. I do not doubt this, just as I do not doubt that Agent George Steel caused a mis-count of the Agency herd by getting the Indian cowboys drunk and having them drive the same cattle through the chutes three or four times. Even as late as the 1930's, large numbers of Indian cattle were disappearing from the Blackfoot Reservation. (This was not the only racketeering of Indian property going on at that time, and it was during the 1930's that Superintendent McFatridge was ousted from his job and sentenced to a term in a federal prison.)

657 From the very beginning, the Indian agent situation has been a
175 sordid one. The agent was appointed ostensibly for the purpose of protecting the interests of the Indian, but those few that honestly attempted to fulfill this mission were summarily dismissed from their posts, particularly during the administration of President Grant. A lot of the crooked agents were bounced too, but only if their thievery became so obvious as to threaten the position of the politicians who had appointed them. The position of Indian Agent was for many years simply a political plum; the agent appointee had no knowledge of or interest in the Indian situation, his sole concern being in how speedily he could divert Indian appropriations to his own pocketbook. Often the agent did not reside on the Reservation—during one period of eighteen months, the Blackfoots were not even *visited* by an agent—and although official records and correspondence (from which so many of our contemporary "Indian experts" derive their information) are apt to sparkle with purity, the fact is that most of the employees of the Indian Service in the United States during the past century were persons of low degree. As Mari Sandoz has pointed out in her fine book, *Cheyenne Autumn*, even Abraham Lincoln, "The Great Emancipator," was so

concerned with human rights that he handed out the job of Indian 657
agent as political spoils to men so incompetent or so untrustworthy 175
as to be unsuited to any (other) governmental post. One of Lincoln's appointees to the Indian Service amassed a large fortune from a job which paid only $1200 a year.

The final Government grab of Piegan land was possibly the most 648
hypocritical of all. In September, 1895, three commissioners met 657
with the Piegans (the Indian tribes of Montana had since 1888
been assigned to separate reservations, and the Bloods and North 175
Blackfoots and North Piegans had long since been subjects of the Queen) to negotiate for purchase of the westernmost portion of what remained of Blackfoot territory in the United States. The Government had by this time finally conceded that the Piegan Reservation was "wholly unfit" for agriculture, and the ostensibly altruistic motive behind the purchase was to provide the Piegans with money with which they could stock their remaining lands with cattle. The Chief, who refers to this land cession as "the time we sold the Rocky Mountains," tells me that the whole deal was whipped up in the first place by Agent Steel, by that so-called "friend of the Indian," George Bird Grinnell, and by other Whites who had become convinced that the territory in question, the eastern portion of the Continental Divide in northern Montana, contained gold in large quantities. Events subsequent to the land sale would tend to bear out the Chief's contention.

The commissioners offered $1,250,000 for the land, but once again old Onistáipokah and his supporters held out for $3,000,000. At length a compromise was reached; the Government agreed to provide the Piegans for ten years with $150,000 worth of annual benefits in the form of such things as cows and bulls, clothing, rations, mechanical implements, medicine and medical facilities, the erection of agency buildings, mills, blacksmith and carpenter shops, etc., and the payment of agents and agency employees (few persons appear to be aware that it was the Indian, not the Federal Government, who provided in one way or another the salaries of agency personnel). This agreement was in effect a ten year extension of the Act of 1888 which involved the cession of the Sweetgrass Range.

The great hypocrisy of this act, the Act of 1896, was in the failure 648
of the United States to honor provisions with regard to the rights of 175
the Piegans to certain privileges attaining to the ceded territory. The Act guaranteed that the Piegans should retain hunting, fishing

648 175 and timber rights in the ceded portion "so long as it shall remain public lands of the United States." The Chief says that his father, Onistáipokah, believed also that the Piegans were to retain all mineral rights except those pertaining to surface deposits. But in 1898 the ceded land was thrown open to White prospectors, and hundreds of Whites scoured the region in search of gold (of which, I delight in reporting, there was none). Adding injury to insult, the Government then declared most of the ceded territory a national park (Glacier National Park), and although the question of whether the use of land as a national park removes it from the category of "public lands" is still open to dispute, the Piegans have been denied access to the resources of their former land which was guaranteed by the act under which the territory was ceded to the United States.

●657 175 731 Probably the most tragic single effect of the White Man's intrusion upon the Blackfoot way of life was the notorious "starvation winter" of 1883–84, during which so many of the Chief's people perished for the simple want of enough food. This terrible event was a direct result of the disappearance from the Plains of the Blackfoot staff of life, the buffalo, but the occasion is rendered even more horrible by the fact that although there was adequate warning to the Whites that the Piegans were about to face a period of great privation, no measures were taken to meliorate the situation.

A definite warning that the last of the buffalo herds, the great northern herd upon which the Blackfoots relied for sustenance, was fast disappearing, came in 1879 when the Canadian Blackfoots found no buffalo north of the "medicine line" (the International Boundary). At this time the Blackfoots were still living in their traditional bands and traveling freely between Canada and the United States, and when Canadian Indian Commissioner Edgar B. Dewdney saw that his Indian charges were suffering for want of food, he issued them such provisions as he was able and advised them to cross the line into the States. This action gave the Canadian Government time to set up a program of assistance to the Indians, who by this time were dependent upon the Government for their very lives. And yet, when four years later the Indians of the United States were faced with a similar situation, Agent John W. Young of the South Piegan Reservation refused to allow his "children" to cross into Canada to participate in the annual food distribution which the Canadian Indian Commission was about to undertake.

Agent Young remains a controversial figure to this day; he has been alternately cursed and canonized by historians attempting to establish the blame for the Starvation Winter. In my opinion, Young was neither saint nor sinner. Granted that Major John Young was exasperatingly G.I. in his refusal to allow the Piegans to draw Canadian rations, the records show that in each of his annual reports after 1880 Young emphasized the increasing scarcity of game available to the Piegans and the alarmingly increasing number of Indians who were dependent upon Government rations. According to official figures, in 1881 there were 605 Indians camped near the Agency; in 1882, the number had increased to 1955; and in 1883, at which time only a small percentage of the Piegans participated in the unfruitful hunt for buffalo, about 3000 Indians were camped near the Agency in hopes of drawing sufficient rations to carry them through the winter. 657 175 731

Indian Bureau funds for the purchase of rations were estimated and budgeted a year in advance, and when early fall of 1883 found Young already forced to issue the Indians only ¼ rations, he earnestly petitioned for additional appropriations from Washington. In late September, a communication from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed Young that appropriations for the Blackfoot Agency had already been exhausted and that no further appropriation was forthcoming. Young immediately submitted his resignation, although he remained at his post until relieved by Reuben Allen the following April. In the interim, the only relief sent to the Blackfoot Agency was a small shipment of cattle which arrived in December. A sizeable quantity of bacon was also freighted in, but it was so rancid and so filled with worms that the Agency doctor condemned it as unfit for human consumption.

With regard to the responsibility of the Federal Government in this matter, several questions present themselves: 657 648 175 731

(1) Why, despite strong warnings in the form of the sudden disappearance of the buffalo north of the International Boundary in 1879 and the increasing scarcity of buffalo in the Blackfoot hunting grounds, was no legislation undertaken to stop or at least to regulate the continuing slaughter of the buffalo by White hide hunters?

(2) Why, when the number of Piegans camped near the Agency in 1883 was officially estimated at 3000 (and this represented only a portion of the tribe), was the official census of the Piegan Reservation for reason of Government appropriations numbered at less than 2500?

(3) If, as some defenders of the Government have claimed, it was not possible to freight supplies to the Piegan Agency because

657 of deep winter snow, how was it then possible to freight in plenty
175 of supplies to the army posts in that area and to the trading posts
which supplied the wants of the White ranchers of the region. And
731 why did not the freighters come through in the summertime when
648 the snow was gone? (The Chief tells me that most of the actual
starvation among the Piegans occurred in the late spring and early
summer, when supplies were completely exhausted.)

(4) Why did not the White ranchers, who were illegally running thousands of cattle on Blackfoot land, make some effort to aid the totally distressed Indians whose land they were using? (A few of the small White ranchers did attempt to help out, but unanimously the big cattle outfits evidenced concern only that the starving Piegans might kill some of their cows.)

(5) Why did John Schuyler Crosby, Governor of Montana, wait until August 29, 1884—at which time the Piegans had been in a state of starvation for more than a full year—before sending an indignant protest to the Secretary of the Interior against "keeping the Nation's wards within the limits of this territory in such pitiable, starving condition." Crosby concluded his pharisaical little phillipic with, "Humanity and justice demand their immediate relief." But he failed to comment upon his own lengthy delay in taking issue with a situation about which he had surely possessed a full awareness for many months.

All these questions have a single answer, and the beginning of that answer is to be found in official statements of the Indian Rights Association, which investigated the matter with admirable thoroughness. For months the Indian Rights Association labored to convince the Congress of the fearful condition of the Piegans and of the necessity for immediate action upon the matter of emergency appropriation for their relief. But not until the Association submitted an open letter to the press stating that the procrastination of Congressman John Ellis, Chairman of the House Sub-committee on Indian Appropriations, was jeopardizing the lives of hundreds of Indians, did Ellis consent to introduce a joint resolution calling for $50,000 to be made immediately available for the assistance of the Indians. Once introduced, the resolution passed both Houses of Congress in two days.

But for our real answer we must seek out the motives behind the actions (or lack of same) of such men as Ellis, Governor Crosby of Montana, and Montana Delegate Martin Maginnis. Maginnis, in company with Senator George Vest of Missouri, actually was on a tour of inspection of conditions on the Piegan Reservation on September 14, 1883 (although his real purpose in being there apparently was to seek out the possibility of further land cessions by the Piegans), and although he witnessed with his own eyes the beginnings of real starvation among the Indians, he failed to inaugurate any action which might have prevented the unspeakable suffering of the following winter. 657 648 731 175

Why did these things occur? The answer is perfectly apparent, and well known to students of the history of Montana, but so far as I know nobody has ever had the guts to come right out and say it. The facts are as follows:

(1) No effort was made to preserve the buffalo because General Sherman, who is tenderly remembered by the South and especially by the State of Georgia, decided that the best way to destroy the Indian was to remove his ability to provide for himself and so make him totally dependent upon the Federal Government. (This is a political expediency which has been employed with success since the earliest recorded periods of human society, and one which is still being expounded by various governments throughout the world —and if the moccasin fits, put it on!)

(2) Certain territorial and federal officials made no effort to aid the Plains Indian. They undertook, in fact, every effort to destroy him, because the powerful White cattlemen—and some of the Montana cattle interests were immensely powerful—wanted the Indian's land. The public officials in question were nothing more than the pawns of the cattle barons (and the mining and railroad interests, etc.) that had put them in office.

There it is, in a nutshell.

When the afternoon's discussion reached a point which suggested a possible opening for such an inquiry, I rather tentatively asked the Chief whether he remembered the Starvation Year. By way of reply, he looked at me steadily for a moment and then said, "I was already a grown man." Long moments of silence followed, and as I began to accept that the Chief quite understandably had dismissed my question, the old fellow began to speak again. At first his remarks were scattered—some of them really quite extraneous —and I knew that he was finding it difficult to discuss this most tragic event. And when finally he found the words with which to convey to me the facts of the Starvation Year, the minute details which welled from his memory and, I felt, from the substance of 731 124

731 his very soul suggested that the marks upon him from this awful
124 experience had not hardened into mere scars but were still open
and painful wounds.

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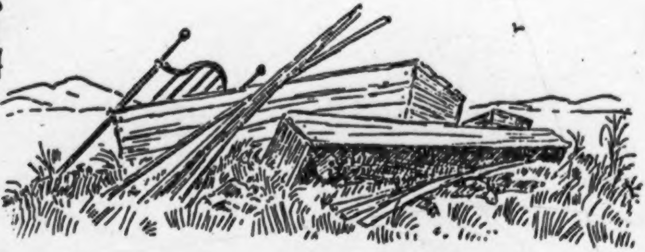

THE STARVATION YEAR

657 At that time they had moved the Agency from Four Per-
175 sons [Choteau] to Running Crane's place on Big Badger Creek.
Now they were moving it again to Old Agency. Most of the
731 things were hauled in two-wheeled ox-carts, and most of the
[462] work was done by women. A log stockade was being built
around the Agency, and this work was done by the women
too. At that time our men had good horses and they were
hunters and they did not do women's work. At that time Chief
[622] Calf, also known as Buffalo Head, whose influence as head chief
of the Piegans was shared by my father, Onistáipokah, died
over in Canada. Chief Calf had promised to give Skunk Cap
[789] a horse, and when he broke his promise, Skunk Cap performed
a secret ceremony to bring Chief Calf bad luck. Two days after
the ceremony, Chief Calf died. They brought Chief Calf back
home and buried him on a ridge near Old Agency. Before that
year was over, hundreds of Piegans were to be buried on that
same ridge.

Before the stockade around Old Agency had been completed,
the Starvation Year began. The buffalo were gone. My father
175 had led us on the winter hunt the year before, and we had
731 found plenty of buffalo. The old men had called the buffalo with
224 the Beaver Power, and with the power of the Thunder Pipe
789 they had caused the direction of the wind to change so that

we had a good chase and brought back many robes and plenty 175
of meat. But this year the herds did not return, and although 731
some of us went deep into the Crow country, we found only a 224
few scattered groups of buffalo—barely enough to feed us on the [789]
hunt.

The buffalo were gone, and although there had been other
years when we did not find the big herds, this year the old
people all knew that the herds would never come again. For
them, the old people, it was as though the sun had disappeared
from the sky. The old ladies dug wild turnips and gathered [222]
wild rhubarb and such berries as they could find, but there was
no fat with which to make pemmican for the months ahead.
Some of them ate prairie dogs and foxes and badgers and anything
else they could trap, and some of the old men just sat
in their lodges and waited.

During a pause, I asked the Chief if the Agency had not issued 657●
rations to the Indians. He continued his fragmented but informative 175
narration: 731

The Agency issued rations, but not nearly enough to keep a
person alive. Each week they gave out a little flour and sugar
and sometimes a small piece of meat. On Friday they would
butcher maybe two or three cows from the Agency herd, and
they would distribute the meat on Saturday, which was ration
day at that time. But when you divide a couple of beeves up
amongst about three thousand people, nobody gets very much.
Thursday we called Nothing-Happens-Day, because by then all
the people would be starving and just sitting around waiting
for the next rations. Every day people died of starvation, and a [165]
lot of others died because they were too weak to resist pneumonia
and other diseases. [Father Prando, who had established [797]
a small mission just south of Birch Creek, the southern boundary
of the Reservation, reported at this time that a serious epi- [164]
demic of erysipelas was proving fatal to many of the en- [165]
feebled Piegans.]

I am not ashamed to admit that it was difficult and even painful 124
for me to ask the Chief direct questions about the Starvation Year, 731
but I knew that this was probably the last opportunity that I or anyone
else would have to record an intelligent, eyewitness—indeed,

124 actual participation—account of this moment of history, and when
731 Jim assured me that the Chief was willing and even anxious to relate
the story to me because he wanted the truth to be remembered, I
gritted my emotional teeth and asked the Chief if he knew how
731 many Piegans had actually died at that time. The old fellow shook
his head and said, "I do not know. No one will ever know. Every-
165 body from little tots to old people died. A lot of the younger people
657 were not even registered at the Agency because after Baker's Mas-
175 sacre the Piegans were afraid to let the Army know that they had
children. Many times when people died, the family would just bury
them and say nothing so that they could keep drawing the extra rations. Such rations as there were, the Agency distributed to the families on a per capita basis."

I asked the Chief whether he thought that as many as 500 persons
might have died. He said, "More than that. Many more than that. At
[764] first they buried them, but after a while there were so many that
they just left the rough boxes (rough coffins) on top of the ridge right out in the open." (The Agent's report for the year of July 1883 to July 1884 numbered only 247 deaths among the Piegans "from all causes." This report is ludicrously inaccurate! Known deaths among the Piegans during the Starvation Year numbered well over five hundred, the actual number almost certainly being in excess of 600.)

175 I asked the Chief whether he personally considered the Agent re-
sponsible for the Starvation Year. He replied, "I don't know whose
657 fault it was. When the starvation began, our agent was a man we
731 called Wolf Necklace (John Young). When he wanted something
done, he did not ask the Indians the way he should have; he told them what to do as though he were talking to a pack of camp dogs. He did not sit and smoke with the old men, and when the old chiefs gave him presents, he did not give them presents in return. The Piegans did not like Wolf Necklace, and when the starvation began, many of the people blamed him. One fellow, Hump Back, tried to kill him. He shot at Wolf Necklace with a rifle, but he missed.

"My father did not blame Wolf Necklace for the starvation. My father told the people that Wolf Necklace was not giving us rations because there were no rations to give. He told the people that the officials in Washington had not sent the rations they had promised, so we should not blame Wolf Necklace for something that was not his fault.

"I remember one good thing that Wolf Necklace did for the people. Near the Agency there was a trading post—a place the Piegans called Outside-of-Town-House—and when a freight wagon of sup-

plies for the trading post arrived at the Agency, Wolf Necklace requisitioned 175
the supplies and distributed them to the Piegans. Shortly 657
after that, Wolf Necklace was fired by the Government." 731

Actually, Young resigned voluntarily, albeit midst an audible
sough of relief from Whites in both Montana and Washington. So
far as I have been able to learn, Young's requisitioning of civilian
property for distribution to the Indians was never officially protested,
but this is no indication that the action did not occur. Civilian
traders on Indian land maintained their establishments only through [439]
license by the Federal Government, and since scarcely a wagonload [656]
of freight arrived in Indian country innocent of contraband—ever [273]
since 1834 it had been illegal to sell or trade whiskey to the Indians
in the United States, and in 1876, as a result of Custer's getting his
pants kicked by Indians in possession of repeating arms, President
Grant has issued an order forbidding the sale of metallic cartridges
or fixed ammunition to "hostile Indians," including the Blackfoots—
the agents of the various reservations were usually in a pretty commanding
position with regard to the traders. My guess would be
that Young told the trader that he could either allow the supplies to
be distributed to the Indians or else face a charge of illegal whiskey
trading.

Few persons are aware, I am sure, of the terrible effect of the 273
White Man's whiskey upon the Indian. The North American Indian 439
represented one of the very few aboriginal groups in the world
whose culture contained no form of intoxicant, and the "Blackfoot
rum"—actually an eight to one mixture of water and alcohol, frequently
spiced with such things as red pepper, black tobacco, molasses
and even gun powder—which the traders introduced to the
Blackfoots was to them both physically and psychologically murderous.
Drunken Indians, completely out of their minds on a few cups 273
of traders' whiskey, not only murdered one another but died like 165
flies from exposure and from the toxic effects of the "Black water"
itself. According to the report of one agent in Montana, during the [175]
six years between 1867 and 1873, *twenty-five percent* of the Blackfoot [657]
Nation died from the effects of alcohol alone.

A year is one hell of a long time, especially when you are starving, 124
and I could not feature anyone as tough-gutted as the Chief 731
just sitting around all during the Starvation Year and doing nothing.
I had to ask him: "Wasn't there anything your father could do to
help the people? And what about you young guys—couldn't you have
gone out hunting, or packed in supplies from Canada?" These ques-

124 tions really heated up the old fellow's eyes, and from then on I
731 just sat back and listened.

175 When the hard times began, my father already had his own
731 small herd of cattle down at Dupuyer. Right from the beginning,
when the Government wanted the Piegans to become farmers,
●657 my father had refused. My father had said that it was not
possible to be a farmer on the Piegan lands, so from the very
first he put all he had into cattle. And my father was right.
[241] Some Piegans tried to raise crops, but they would not grow.
Most of the things they planted froze right in the ground. But
175 my father had a pretty good herd of cattle down there at
731 Dupuyer, and they were being taken care of by an honest White
man, Jim Grant, who was the father of old Dick Grant, and
262 when the great hunger began, my father killed his cattle and
shared the meat with the other old people. He even killed his
horses to help feed the people. All the Piegans killed their
horses. In the old days when we could not find forage for
our horses we would feed the horses the inner bark of the
cottonwood tree, which is soft and oily. But by the spring of
Starvation Year there were no horses to feed because the
Piegans had eaten them—they had even eaten their dogs and
cats—so the Piegans ate the cottonwood bark themselves. That
is how hungry they were.

175 Naturally we young men hunted for game--and not just the
youngsters, either. Some of the old-timers went along, too, and
731 every day we were hunting for elk and deer and trying to catch
224 fish. In the wintertime we chopped holes in the ice and fished.
[226] But there is only just so much game to be found, and even
before the snow came the elk had moved to the far ranges and
the deer could no longer be found. The best luck I had with
my old muzzle-loader was high in the mountains hunting the
wild goats. The goat is very curious, just like the antelope, and
we used to hunt them the same way. You make sure the wind
is right so that they cannot smell you, and then you hide behind
a rock and tie a piece of cloth on the end of a stick and wave
it slowly back and forth. You must have a lot of patience to
hunt in this manner, but if you wait long enough, the goat will
come up close to see what is going on, and then you have your
chance at him. We also hunted by building traps and deadfalls,
and there were so many pits and deadfalls along the trails that

wry smile, the Chief phrased it this way: "One of the Wolves that 175
took the White Man's stock was named Running Wolf." (The Chief 731
had taken as his Indian name the name of his uncle, Running 262
Wolf.)

The only really sizeable and overt effort at cattle-rustling con- 721
ducted by the Piegans during this period occurred during the sum-
mer following the Starvation Winter. The Chief was in the thick of 175
it, of course, and he tells the story this way: 731

> When Wolf Necklace [Agent Young] was fired, we got a 657
> new agent. We called him New Chief [Reuben Allen], and 721
> we called his assistant Good Person [?] because he was very 262
> kind to the people and even gave away his own clothes to those old persons that did not have any. When New Chief arrived [in April], he called my father to the Agency Office and told him that from now on things would be different on the Reservation. But things were not different. New Chief brought only words, not food, and when the summertime came the people were still going hungry.
>
> At that time the Agency had a herd of cattle branded ID [Indian Department], but they would not slaughter enough of these cattle to feed the people. They would kill only a few cattle each week, the same as before, and while the people
> starved the cattle grazed right there in plain sight. The herd [625]
> was guarded by Indian police.
>
> It got to be the middle of the summer, and still we had nothing from the Agent but promises, so four of us young men made plans to rustle a beef. We told the Agent that we were going fishing, but instead we went down to visit the Grease Melters Band to tell some of our friends there our plans. That night, when it was dark, the four of us took a cow from the edge of the herd and took it into some trees by a stream and butchered it. Then we built a fire and began to cook some of the meat.
>
> Just as we were starting to cook the meat we heard somebody coming. Two of the fellows said that they had heard someone speak in the Flathead language, so we all hid in the brush. But it was only some of the boys from the Grease Melters, meeting us as planned.
>
> During the evening more and more fellows showed up, until there were forty of us all together. We stayed there all night, and among the forty of us we ate that entire beef.

175 That night we made plans to rustle some more beef. It was
231 decided that Curved Ribs, Flathead Eagle, and I would "bor-
657 row" some horses and run off the rest of the herd. At dawn the
721 boys drifted out, two by two, and Curved Ribs and Flathead
Eagle and I collected some horses and hid out behind a hill
262 from about ten that morning till around five o'clock that afternoon. Then finally Curved Ribs said, "Boys, those cattle belong to the Indians. The Government sent those cattle here to feed us, and since the Agent won't give them to us we will just go and help ourselves."

So then we jumped on our horses and raided the herd. Our plan was to run off a group of twenty-three cattle that were being grazed about a quarter of a mile from where the Badger Creek Agency had been and to drive them to the fork of Blacktail Creek. There, at the fork of Blacktail, some of the other boys were to have a corral ready. We figured that by raiding at this time of day we would just about have time to drive the cattle to the corral by dark; we figured that the Indian Police, who were not mounted, would not be able to track us until the following day.

[625] When we made our raid, the Indian Police tried to stop us by heading us off on foot, but there were only two of them guarding the herd and they were nothing but foolish old men anyway so we just laughed. At first they ordered us to stop, and then they promised that if we would leave the herd alone they would give us a beef apiece, but we laughed in their faces and drove off the whole bunch, all 23 of them.

We reached the corral in good time, and immediately butchered one of the beeves. As soon as the meat had been divided, I took my share and rode down to my father's camp on Birch Creek. I arrived just as my mother was preparing supper. I said, "Father, why don't you send out and invite all the old people in for supper. We have meat."

My father said, "Who brought meat to us?"

I said, "Your son brings you meat." I was really afraid that my father would give me a bad time for stealing the Agency cattle, but he did not. When I told him what had happened, he said, "Good! Those cattle are rightfully ours, and you had a right to take them. Perhaps our Agent will learn a lesson from what you have done."

My father asked how many cattle we had taken, and I told him that we had twenty-two in addition to the one we had

already butchered. Early the next morning we moved up to 175
Blacktail Creek and butchered the remainder of the cattle 731
and distributed the meat to the people. But although we spent 657
all that day at Blacktail Creek, and camped there that night,
it was not until around noon of the following day that the In- 721
dian Police finally showed up. White Grass and another old 262
man came up and told my father that the Agent wanted to
see the two of us. My father told them to wait until after lunch
and then we would all go down to the Agency together.

When we arrived at the Agency, the Agent asked my father whether he knew that some of the Agency herd had been run off and butchered. My father said, "Yes, I know that." The Agent asked my father why he had allowed this to be done, and my father said, "If you want to know why, step outside and look up toward the ridge and see the rough boxes that are piled there. Your answer is inside those boxes." Then my father turned on his heel and left, and I went with him.

The Chief was through talking. Nobody needed to tell me so, but 731
when the Chief concluded his tale of the Starvation Year the story- 124
telling was over for the time being and none of us commented upon 122
this fact nor would (or could) we have expressed the emotional
impact which the story had had on all of us, both teller and listeners.
I am not an habitual smoker, but during the Chief's narration of
the Starvation Winter I had asked Jim in sign language to roll me
a Bull Durham cigarette. I had had trouble in finding my mouth
with the cigarette, and I had burned my fingers.

Jim split blocks for the remainder of the afternoon, and I took a 122
long walk along the creek bottom, looking for deer sign. We need
meat. The Piegans are of course denied the right of hunting in
Glacier Park, but they do benefit from the overflow of game from
that protected area. The Reservation—our end of it, at least—is situ-
ated smack up against the Park, and on the Reservation the Indians
are allowed to hunt all year round.

At supper we all ate appreciatively. Afterward the Chief related [126]
seven traditional "Nahpi" stories. I recorded them, but after the
Starvation Winter they held little interest for me. We were all very
tired and went to bed early.

For an hour or so I lay awake, pondering the difficulty of evoking through the literary medium a truly valid portrait of the Indian personality and the Indian life—and still getting your stuff published. Even A. B. Guthrie, a truly fine western writer, admits that his

648 turn over the control of Indian affairs to the Army, and that would have been the end of the Indians.

My father spent the winter on Milk River in Canada, and the following spring he went back to the States to talk to the Army. He arrived at Rock House [Ft. Benton] just as the boats were landing, and immediately the soldiers put my father under arrest and took him aboard one of the boats where an officer asked him questions. The officer asked my father whether he had come over to the States because he was seeking revenge for what had been done to the Piegans on Bear River. My father said no, but the officer kept on asking him the same question. Finally my father became angry with the officer and told him that if the Piegans were out after revenge the Army would know it by now because there wouldn't be a White man alive or a White house standing between here and the Medicine Line. My father said, "I came over here to find out why you killed our people. I do not want that there should be any more killing. I want to see my people able to go to sleep at night without wondering whether they will be killed in their lodges. And I want the same thing for the White people—especially the old people. I want them to be able to sleep without fear."

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657 There was in fact at the time of Baker's Massacre a movement before the Congress to transfer the Indian Bureau from the Department of the Interior to the War Department. If the Blackfoots had retaliated against the Army in force, the bill probably would have gone through; as it was, when Vincent Colyer of the Board of Indian Commissioners made available to the newspapers "the sickening details of Colonel Baker's attack on the village of Piegans," the bill was squashed—and squashed along with the bill was the practice of employing Army officers as Indian agents (although all Indian agents continued to be addressed by the honorific "Major"). The whole situation suggests that the Chief's father, old Onistái-pokah, was indeed something of a diplomatic and political genius. He succeeded to an extent far greater than that of any other Plains chief in performing successfully the primary function of a civil chief, that of saving his people from annihilation.

648 Since the Chief was contemporary with both Custer and Sitting Bull, I asked him whether he had ever met either one of them. He said that he had heard of Custer, whom the Blackfoots called "Buckskin shirt," but that he had never met him. And then he amazed

Late in the evening of that same day there was a hard, brief thunderstorm, with much lightning. [Anyone who has seen lightning on the High Plains of Montana has no difficulty in understanding why the Blackfoots regarded it as a supernatural expression; it is lightning totally different from any I have seen elsewhere.] When it was over, the Thunder Medicine Man came again to my father's lodge.

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My father said, "I am sorry. I have done my best, but my arms are not long enough. ["My arms are not long enough," is the literal translation of a Blackfoot phrase which is intended to suggest something like, "my influence is not broad enough," or, "my authority is not strong enough."] The people will not camp together, and the Holy Woman will not allow the lodge to be moved."

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The Thunder Medicine Man said, "I am sorry to hear this. The Medicine Lodge is not in a good place. Thunder is not happy with the way the people are conducting themselves. Misfortune will come to them."

At that time there were several Piegan children attending the Indian school down at Fort Shaw. Among them were my wife's younger brother, one of Yellow Wolf's sons, and the son of my brother, Cross Guns. I was asked to go down and bring the children home for summer vacation, so I left the next day for Fort Shaw. The journey to Fort Shaw could not be made in a single day, and as I camped that first night north of Depuyer I was waked by another violent thunderstorm. I had no way of knowing it at the time, but when I got back home I learned that upon that night the Medicine Lodge at Old Agency had been struck by lightning. No one but the Holy Woman had been killed. The Holy Woman had been killed by a bolt of lightning. [As though it were not enough that this incident is a verifiable historical fact, some years later, when the daughter of this Holy Woman sponsored a Medicine Lodge, she too was struck and killed by lightning. Once again, the Holy Woman was the only one to die.]

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I was delayed at Fort Shaw for two days because upon arriving there I discovered that Cross Guns' boy had broken his hip in falling from a horse. The Superintendent of the Indian School, a man named Campbell, refused to send the boy to the hospital, and in order to borrow a buggy in which to take the youngster home I had to go all the way back to Choteau. Campbell also did not wish to allow one of the girls to go home,

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159 so I lied to him. I told him that the girl's father had died and
484 the girl was his only heir and that it would be necessary for
her to return home for the property settlement. I told him that
752 a lawyer had told me to bring her home, and when I said this,
657 Campbell not only let her go but insisted upon giving us rations.
875 He also gave us eight pillows with which to make Cross
Guns' boy comfortable in the buggy. [I researched this portion
[128] of the narrative with great thoroughness, and positively established
as facts the following: (1) Cross Guns' boy did break
his hip in a fall from a horse; (2) The Chief was forced to transport
the boy by buggy all the way from Fort Shaw to his home
near Browning (a distance of well over one hundred miles!);
(3) F. C. Campbell, the superintendent of the Indian school at
Fort Shaw, later became both Supervisor of Indian Industries
for the States of Montana, North Dakota, Wyoming and Idaho
and Superintendent of the Blackfoot Indian Reservation, and
although Campbell managed by hook or crook to remain in the
Indian Service for 39 years, his conduct was such that at long
last, on July 24, 1929, F. C. Campbell became the subject of a
special investigation by the Committee on Indian Affairs of
the United States Senate.]

159 Cross Guns' boy had to lie on his back in the bed of the
wagon, and since it would have been inhuman to force him to
484 travel in the daytime, with the sun in his face, we traveled
752 at night, by moonlight. We had no medicine to give the boy,
but at Choteau I had gotten hold of some whiskey and we gave
[273] this to the boy to ease his pain. We dosed him with whiskey
until he passed out.

159 North of Choteau, on a bright, moonlit night, with every star
clear in the sky, we were traveling along when suddenly lightning
484 began to flash. Drags His Robe, Heavy Breast and some
752 other old-timers were traveling with me at the time, and none
132 of us could figure out the reason for this sudden advent of fierce
lightning flashes. We stopped and took shelter, but although
the lightning continued until dawn, not a drop of rain fell and
not a cloud darkened the bright full moon. It was the strangest
thing I had ever experienced, and I assure you that the boy
was not the only one to take a shot of whiskey that night.

At Depuyer we got some more bootleg whiskey for the boy,
and finally we all made it back home. The first thing I noticed
159 upon arrival was that the Medicine Lodge had been torn down,
346 and the first person I encountered, a lady named Goods Steal-
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to steal horses from the enemy was the primary key to social and 622
political advancement among all the Plains Tribes. It is also of 484
importance to know that not only was a chief expected to be able 231
to obtain horses and guns from the enemy, he was expected to be [721]
very generous in loaning or giving these articles to those who [555]
lacked them. Especially the head or civil chiefs were often quite [426]
poor simply because they had given so much of their material accumulation 622
to other persons. This great burden of obligation which 426
the civil chief bore in the name of his people was one reason that
some war chiefs actually refused to accept the position of civil chief: [624]
they were too stingy, and of course when this fact became known [157]
the tribe would not have retained them as civil chiefs anyway. Generosity
is still highly regarded among the Blackfoots, and even today [157]
the stingy Indian is regarded with contempt. Obviously then, since 622
the Chief's older brother Wolf Tail retained in his personal possession
the fantastic number of one thousand horses, the man was not [556]
overly burdened with charitable tendencies. And that is why old
Onistáipokah made sure that my Indian dad, who is generous to a
fault, became civil chief in his stead. Little could the old Chief have [657]
known that in 1935 the Wheeler-Howard Act would deprive his
generous and capable son of any real authority and place tribal control [643]
instead in the hands of a tribal council.

The fact that the Blackfoots and Plains Tribes in general were [171]
directed in the more important aspects of life by the authority of a
civil chief, does not in any way imply a sequacious leaning on the
part of Indians. The civil chief controlled the destiny of his people
only so long as the strength of his personality and the obvious correctness
of his judgments served to vindicate his authority. The 181
American Indian was and is an individualist in the most trying 171
connotation of the word; no single person ever held total sway over
any Plains Tribe. Every Indian battle ever fought was conducted [725]
not as a single concerted effort under the master guidance of a
single commander or strategist-in-chief, but as the coincidentally
combined efforts of numerous small groups or individuals, each fighting
as he damn well pleased. This is true even of such supposedly
masterminded military operations as Chief Joseph's withdrawal to
the Canadian line and, especially, the Battle of the Little Big Horn.
It is, from the point of view of the Indian at least, a damn shame
that the Plains Indians couldn't have stuck together. Even today,
one of the main problems of the American Indians is that they cannot
stick together and function politically as a single force. The
Plains Indian constituted the best light cavalryman the world has

The survey crew had gone, but they had left behind some bread. The bread was mouldy, but we were so hungry that we ate it anyway. 159 721

From there we followed the creek down to a place called Red Painted Rock, and from there to a Blackfoot campground known as Many Chief. We hid out our guns and staked out the horses and entered the camp. My grandmother, Holy Rags, and my aunt, John, were in the camp. Most of the people in the camp were women and girls; they were picking berries.

My grandmother had started to cook some food for us when a half-breed interpreter from the States came in and wanted to know what we were doing there. He said that the Mounties wanted to know. My grandmother knew that we had been on a war path, but she told the interpreter that we were some of her relatives visiting from another camp. The interpreter said that we had better leave right now—I think he was afraid we might raise hell in the camp, or else he was jealous of the girls there—but my Aunt John said that it was pretty late now and it would be better if we left early in the morning.

Early the next day some Mounties came through, and when they and the interpreter had crossed the stream on the ferry, we fellows took our guns and horses and went to where the old Blood Agency used to be. The Blackfoots called it Many Surrendered. The Agent at this time was called Big Bear. [657]

Once again we hid out our guns and horses, and went into the Agency. There were a few Blood camps in the area, but not many. We found out that most of the camps, including that of my uncle, Running Wolf, had moved down east. The Agent asked us where we were from, and we told him we were from one of the camps down east. He told us we had better go back home, so we went and got our guns and horses and went down to Running Wolf's camp. That is to say, Narrow Belt and I did. Running-With-Guns' people were camped near Many Surrendered, so we left him there.

So we got home safe with all our horses. I gave the best of my horses to my uncle, Running Wolf, and I also gave one to my sister, Weasel Tail Woman. I gave the others away too, but I can't remember who I gave them to—I think I gave them to my female cousins.

I felt that in these last stories the Chief had really warmed up to his task, but as I sat in confident expectation of learning even more 122 538

648 would need. Finally it was agreed that I would go to Washington, with Bob Hamilton as interpreter, to put our Big Claim before the Government.

So the meeting was over, and our delegation went back to Browning to prepare for our mission to Washington. But before we were ready to leave, Bob Hamilton, our interpreter, passed away.

Bob Hamilton's death left me without an interpreter, so I asked several English-speaking Blackfoots to go to Washington with me. At various times, certain individuals agreed to go, but at the last minute every one of them backed out. Finally one night I gave a Medicine Smoke, a ceremony among the men. Louis Bear Child, also called Plenty Treaty, was present, and it was to him that I spoke: "You speak English well, and I want you to go to Washington with me to assist in representing our people. Do not refuse, as I ask in the name of our people. I know that you are a poor man and that you cannot afford to make this journey, but if you will agree to go, my young son, Jim, and I will pay your expenses out of our own pockets."

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657 Plenty Treaty agreed to go, and we informed our Superintendent, Mr. O'Hara, that we wished permission to go to *Sikkoi-yis* [Black Lodge], which is our Blackfoot name for Washington, D.C. Mr. O'Hara, whom we called Good Dancer, agreed to let us go, and one very cold winter day, with a blizzard blowing, my boy Jim drove Plenty Treaty and me to the railroad depot in a sleigh. At first the ticket agent would not sell us our tickets; he called Good Dancer on the telephone and asked him whether we had permission to leave, and only then did he sell us our tickets. [Technically, to this very day no American Indian can leave his reservation without the specific permission of the superintendent; this fact, along with numerous others of similar nature, might profitably be made known to those *ignorantes* who are currently militating for a strict adherence by the Federal Government to the very letter of the
648 old Indian treaties.] Then my son Jim shook hands with us and wished us good luck, and we started on our journey.

I had a lot of respect for Plenty Treaty for making the trip with me, but when we got on the train I felt sad because the poor chap was dressed so shabbily. His shoes were far too large for him, and his toes were sticking out of holes worn in the shoe tops; he was wearing an old leather jacket that was nothing short of pathetic, and his cap wasn't worth owning. At that

and Louis Bear Child, but they had already hitched a ride with 122
someone else. I went on into Browning, killed a few rats,* and came right back to the ranch.

Nobody home yet, so I walked along the creek down to Paul's. Paul was not there—he is *always* going someplace—but I chatted briefly with the young chap who lives next door to him. This fellow is either a Many Hides or a Many Hides in-law—I never did learn which—and he is the one who made that silly remark about shaving lotion on the occasion of my wild midnight ride (The Midnight Ride of Paul Many Hides) to the home of Phillip Many Hides. At the time, I had considered this young man to be pretty much of an ass, but today I decided that he is not an ass at all—he is just scared. He has a wife and young child, and during our conversation he explained that an Indian who does not own his own land is pretty
much a beggar. The Reservation was originally allotted to the Pie- 657
gans as a group, but in 1912 fixed portions of the Reservation land 425
were allocated to the Piegans as individuals. In 1918, the issuance 423
of patents-in-fee permitted the individual Indian to sell or otherwise
dispose of his personal land holdings, and when two succeeding [731]
years of drought were followed by a winter so severe that most Piegan livestock froze to death (sometimes it appears that even Mother Nature herself was against the Indian) many Piegans, out of the simple need to survive, were forced to sell their land for a fraction of its true value. And as if this weren't bad enough, unscrupulous Whites, with the connivance of equally unscrupulous officials of the Indian Service, flatly *stole* from the Piegans whatever choice properties they could not otherwise come into possession of: fee patents were issued to many Piegans without either their consent or their knowledge—in one famous case, a patent-in-fee was forced upon a poor soul who was not only partially paralyzed and suffering from tuberculosis but who had previously been by law adjudged an imbecile—and the lands were then foreclosed as payment for petty merchandise which the Indians had thought to be gifts from the local mercantile company. This land-grabbing deal was one of the most scandalous the West has ever known—within a decade, well over 200,000 acres of the very finest land on the Reservation became the property of Whites—and the true nature of the situation is pretty well made clear by the record of the administration of Blackfoot Indian affairs in the United States during that period. Between the years 1910 and 1921, seven different men acted the role of Superin-

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* i.e., attended to some petty obligations.

657 425 423 tendent of the Blackfoot Reservation: three of these men were dismissed from the Indian Service completely; one was later sent to a federal penitentiary; and yet another fled from Browning in order to avoid indictment. I certainly do not hold with such utter nonsense as giving portions of the United States "back to the Indians" (the various American Indian nations took land from one another just as forcefully as the United States Government later took it away from the Indian, and it would be impossible to determine rightly to whom the land should be returned), and no person capable of rational thought would suggest a literal adherence to ancient treaties which were ridiculous in their inception (if certain West Coast Indians, equipped as they are with the White Man's modern implements, were to be allowed unrestrictedly to fish "wherever their ancestors fished," the Steelhead salmon would soon go the way of the buffalo). But I do believe that any American Indian who was in any way deprived of his private land holdings between the time of the issuance of the first patents-in-fee and the adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934—the Act provided against further defraudation—should be granted under law the prerogative of regaining ownership of the land upon payment to the present owner of the exact amount for which the land was sold, or for the specific amount of the obligations upon which the land was foreclosed. In the event that the original owner should now be deceased, said prerogative should accrue to the legal heirs, or, no heirs existing, to the Tribe. (P.S. It'll never happen.)

657 273 [425 Although many Piegans bid farewell to their lands with a whiskey kiss, all this land-grabbing by Whites took place before it was legal for Indians to either purchase or consume liquor. It was equally illegal, of course, for anyone to sell or trade the stuff to an Indian, and Jimmy has revealed that the Chief threw one of the superintendents bodily across the Reservation line for peddling booze. And 622 147 the Chief is just the man that could do it! Even today, at the age of 105, he has a 47" chest and a hand that could crush mine. The old fellow's strength is really fantastic, and he defeats both Jim and me in arm-wrestling without any apparent effort. God, when I think that the Chief was a full-grown warrior of nineteen when Custer got clobbered! No wonder I feel reverential in his presence.

625 Something I could not at first understand was why the Chief, with his magnificent personality, had for many years been an "Indian Police." The Tribal Police, as they are now called, constitute not so much a police *force* as a police *farce*, and the ones that I have met are either of the Keystone Kop variety or else, as a local

122 employ it as a noun to refer to very strong coffee. After some effort
195 I was able to establish that this metaphor, which has changed in both form and meaning, had its origin about one hundred years ago, when the Blackfoots first received treaty payments from the Federal Government. The treaty payments were made in the form of various implements, goods and foodstuffs; coffee, which was issued to the Indians in the form of unground beans (and which the Indians long considered a useless commodity) was referred to by the Blackfoots as "like little rocks."

[201] While Jimmy and I discussed Blackfoot nouns, the Chief was occupied with other concerns, and after supper he sat in his chair with
[622] his eyes closed, gesturing oratorically with both hands—his way of talking to himself. My way is to come right out and talk to myself,
000 which attracted some invidious comments from college roommates but which also assisted me in earning straight A's in language courses. Once a little Alpha Phi came trotting up to me after class and said, "What is your secret for learning languages so well? You *must* have a secret." I told her that there was no secret about it but that she could undoubtedly develop a better feeling for a language, and certainly improve her pronunciation, if she would spend a few odd minutes each day holding conversation with herself in the language in question. She said, "Oh, I couldn't do *that*—people would think I was *crazy* [a rollercoaster inflection on the *a*]." So I asked her whether she would rather be considered crazy and get an A or be considered rah-rah normal and flunk, and she said normal and flunk—and she did.

622 I fully believe that the Chief has the native intelligence to make
156 *Phi Beta Kappa* at any university (although, since scholastic honors are awarded not for intelligence or achievement but for lucubration and conformity, the Chief would probably have ended up with a B average like the rest of us), and I was aware that in his mood of silent contemplation he was clarifying in his own mind some issue of importance. Many elderly persons are so bound up in the past that they cannot function in contemporary situations, but not so the Chief. He is a remarkably perspicacious (and perspicuous) individual, and he is fully and intelligently aware of the problems with which the Blackfoot Indian of today must deal—and he is aware that these problems must be resolved on a long-term basis.

[657] The United States Government no longer recognizes the authority of any American Indian chief to represent his people in situations political or otherwise—ninety-nine percent of the present day Indians who call themselves "chief" have no more claim to chieftainship than

622 156 [657] I have—but my Indian dad is a true chief from any point of view: he is Head Chief of the Piegans by virtue of both inheritance from and specific appointment by his father, old Onistáipokah (whose political authority *was* honored by the Government); he is a war chief by way of having actually led war parties against tribes hostile to his own nation; and he is a civil chief in that the Piegan full-bloods have allowed him to retain both the authority and the responsibility of representing them in matters relating to their welfare. The Chief is especially concerned about the future of the full-bloods (who now constitute a small minority on the Piegan Reservation), and he is currently preoccupied with the chore of appointing delegates to represent the full-bloods at some sort of intertribal conclave down at Billings. Here is a man who is not only living in the present, still fighting for the rights of his people, but who is so politically and socially far-sighted that he has already made plans to turn his chieftainship over to his son, Jim, so that Jim can carry on the good fight when the Old-timer is no longer able.

122 Jim and I concluded our linguistic discussion, and after a respectful while Jim went over and placed his hand on the old fellow's shoulder. Without opening his eyes, the Chief said, "*T'káh* [Who is that]," and when Jimmy reminded him that he had some letters to dictate, the Chief said that Jim was quite right and that he was grateful for having been reminded.

Jimmy said to me, "I did had some writing [paper] somewhere. Do you have, or not some?" So I provided some paper and the Chief dictated two letters to Jim. I shall type them up in the morning.

[126] While the Chief dictated, I attacked my typewriter long enough to bring my journal up to the minute. Then, when the Chief was finished, he asked me to turn on my recorder. I did, and he told me the two stories that I have been most anxious to hear—the story behind the bullet wound in his left arm, and the story of his last and most famous war party.

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> The leaders of this war party were Tripod and Star Chief. We started from Belly River, in Canada, and since we were all mounted on good horses we made excellent time down to the Crow country. Our main rest stops were west of Great Falls and near Big Timber, west of Saw Mill [Billings]. Below Big Timber we stole a number of Crow horses and made a clean getaway.
>
> We headed straight north and traveled without incident until

538 mies to the south, represents not only the most authentically de-
726 tailed narration of a Plains Indian war party ever recorded but an invaluable portrait of the desperate and somehow pathetic last days of a culture which had already heard the tolling of the knell. This verbal portrait is not entirely a pretty one—certainly not one to gratify the preconceptions of the romantic—for the Chief, as always, painted with a brush of complete and uncompromising honesty. The Old-timer spared neither himself nor anyone else in presenting the unvarnished facts, and the confident exactitude of his recall is a thing to be marveled at. The color of each horse, the clothing worn by his own party and by the enemy, the exact place a bullet from his gun struck an antelope: all this and much more he was able to tell me.

The war party here described is well known to history, and it bespeaks the uncommon modesty of the Chief that, until my first acquaintance with him in 1958, it had been believed that the last survivor of this adventure, a Blood Indian named Crazy Crow, had passed away twenty years before. The Chief's first mention of his participation in this historically important event was very casual, and it was not until now that I was able to induce him to relate the actualities of the Last Scalp Dance in any detail. But it has now been established beyond any possible doubt that the Chief himself is the final survivor of the affair, and listening to the old fellow recite the details of the last important Plains Indian war party, exactly as he had lived them, was to me every bit as thrilling as though Custer had suddenly popped from the shadows and asked me if I would like to know what really happened at the Battle of the Little Big Horn.

721 The famous war party itself, which occupied a time of nearly one month and involved a round trip by the participants of more than
726 one thousand miles, took place in the spring of 1889, but the events
[484] which eventually prompted the raid began more than two years previous to that date.*

During the first few years following their shared tragedy of the near extinction of the buffalo, the Indian tribes of the Northern Plains lived in a situation of restless peace. Then one day in Septem-
[657] ber of 1886, on the Blood Reserve just across the International Boundary in Canada, suddenly the peace was shattered. Ten horses

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[114] * For his gentlemanly assistance in verifying the historicity of the Chief's last war party, and for many other kind favors, I am very grateful to Hugh A. Dempsey, archivist of the Glenbow Foundation of Calgary, Alberta, Canada and editor of the *Alberta Historical Review.*

were stolen from a Blood named White Elk, and White Elk, who 721
suspected (and correctly so) that the horses had been run off by a 726
party of Gros Ventres from the United States, demanded of Blood 657
Agent William Pocklington that he be allowed to lead a retaliatory raid across the "Medicine Line."

When White Elk persisted in his demand, Agent Pocklington at length issued passes to five Bloods and one North Blackfoot to travel to Fort Assiniboine, Montana Territory, in order to petition through proper authorities for the return of White Elk's stolen property. The delegation of Indians never completed their journey. A few weeks after their departure, in a hastily dug trench near the Sweetgrass Hills, a Blood named Big Wolf discovered the scalped and mutilated bod[illegible]f all six men.

At first the killers of the six Blackfoots were unknown: one rumor 721
blamed the slaughter on White ranchers; another attributed it to 726
American Cavalrymen who had caught the Indians killing cattle. But when word was received that Gros Ventres had performed a scalp dance within sight of the American soldiers at Ft. Assiniboine, all doubt was removed. Only an unseasonably early and very heavy snow prevented the Blackfoot war chiefs from leading a full-scale retaliatory raid across the Line against the offending tribe, and during the uneasy days which followed, Agent Pocklington presented the following report to his superintendent:

> The younger Indians have decided among themselves to start for the Gros Ventre reserve as soon as the snow goes off the ground and revenge the deaths of their comrades. I am informed the party will muster four hundred strong.

All winter long the peaceful Head Chief of the Bloods, Red Crow, labored to dissuade his warriors from undertaking to slaughter the outnumbered Gros Ventres. But the following spring, just when it appeared that Red Crow's influence was making itself felt, Agent Pocklington had occasion to send the following urgent wire to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

> Party of Indians stole eighty horses from Upper Agency Saturday night. Red Crow heaviest loser. Red Crow and large party pursuing them. Supposed to be Assiniboines and Gros Ventres.

The chiefs of the Blackfoot Nation have always been known for [648]
their high intelligence, and although Red Crow failed to overtake

handle of his briefcase, but I now discovered that I had been mistaken.] 727

A short while later, Red Crow [Head Chief of the Bloods] 657 came down and told me that the Mounties were looking for 727 me. He advised me to turn myself in to the Agent, so I did, [622] whereupon the Mounties chained me in a Red River cart and took me to the stockade at Fort Macleod. One Mountie was driving the cart and another was riding alongside. Both the horses were sorrels. It was the spring of the year, and when we forded the Kootenai River I thought that the high water was going to be the end of me. The cart whipped around and started to turn over, but the driver threw his weight against it and we made it across all right.

On the other side of the river the Mounties unshackled me and went off into the woods for quite a while, leaving me alone. I figured they were giving me a chance to escape, but since I had promised Red Crow to turn myself in I stayed right there. Presently the Mounties returned and said, "Well, you had your chance. Now you are going to the Sandy [the guard house]."

[It is quite possible that Canadian officials had given orders that the Chief be allowed to escape. The Chief was a United [648] States Indian, and this fact constituted rather a sticky wicket in Canadian-American relations. According to official Canadian Government records, the Chief, Young Pine and Wolf Sitting (called "The Scout") were in custody at Ft. Macleod from 18 May to 13 June, 1889, during which time American authorities made no response to communication on the subject from S. B. Steele, Superintendent of Macleod District. The Chief was smart enough to keep his mouth shut about having taken the scalp of an American Indian, so he was charged only with transporting stolen property into Canada. No formal complaint was ever filed by the owners of the stolen horses, so all three prisoners were released for want of evidence against them. Calf Robe, who turned himself in on 21 June, also was released.]

A couple of days after they locked me up, the Mounties brought in Wolf Sitting and Young Pine who also had turned themselves in to the Agent on the advice of Red Crow.

At this time there was a part-Indian scout and interpreter for the Mounties named Joe Potts. We Indians called him *Kyái-o-kos:* Bear Child. He was the grandfather of Francis and Aloysius Potts who now live in Browning. One day Potts came and took

657 727 me to the office of the Superintendent of the Fort. My father was there, and for a while I couldn't understand why they wanted me there because nothing happened except that my father and the Superintendent, with Potts interpreting, swapped a bunch of stories back and forth.

Finally they had a little conference, after which Potts turned to me and said, "Well, I think we'll send you to the territorial prison." [*Mi-ku-tsis-sey-eet-tai:* Red River.]

I knew that he was trying to scare me, so I said, "O.K. I'd like to see what it looks like up there."

Potts said, "If you want to see that place, then you are a damned fool. You ought to have more sense than to go running off on war parties with that wild bunch."

At lunch time Potts started to take me back to the guardhouse to eat, but the Superintendent stopped him. He said that we would all eat together in the officers' mess.

Later on the Superintendent gave my father a pass with which to cross on the ferry, and the two of them shook hands. My father thanked the Superintendent for taking good care of me in the jail, and the Superintendent said, "Well, I don't have any gifts to give you, but you can take your boy home with you. I am releasing him in your custody."

My father said, "Oh, no! I did not come here like a dog to drag his pup home by the scruff of the neck. My boy is a grown man, and you had better keep him right here until you feel disposed to release him as a man in his own custody."

I said, "Don't say that! I want to get out of here."

Potts said, "Don't complain to anybody! It is your own fault that you are in this jail."

The Superintendent said to my father, "You are an even wiser man than I thought you were. I will see to it that your son is well cared for and that he is not required to do any hard labor."

During my stay in the guardhouse, the only work I did was waiting on tables in the mess hall. Some of the other prisoners did the slave work—mopping floors and washing the dishes.

One day Young Pine, Wolf Sitting and I were taken to the courtroom where there was a meeting among the Indian Commissioner and the important chiefs. At length Red Crow said, "The Americans [the Gros Ventres and Assiniboines] put down

the first blood by killing six of our people. Now we have killed 657
one of them, and so the matter is finished." 727

Young Pine, Wolf Sitting and I were sitting in a row with
myself in the middle. The Blood Agent [Pocklington] said that [625]
the Government wanted to hire fifty police from among the
Bloods in order to help keep the peace. He asked Young Pine if he would serve, and after some hesitation Young Pine finally agreed. The officials said that they would make Young Pine head of the police, but later on Young Pine backed out of the deal.

When the whole affair was over and they gave us our release, the officials gave out tea and crackers and that kind of stuff. I told them I didn't want any, and I went immediately to the camp of my father's brother-in-law, Running Wolf.

The next day, Young Pine sent word for me to come to his 727
camp. There was a big crowd in the lodge, but Young Pine said for me to step over everybody in order to sit by his side. That night we had the biggest victory dance of all. Everybody was there, and those of us who had been on the war party were honored. We told all about stealing the Crow horses, and about the battle. When we told about taking the scalps, everybody fired off their guns and made so much noise that several of the horses picketed nearby broke loose and stampeded. After that I was made a member of the Crazy Dogs.

Later on [in early July of the same year] we moved down to where we were going to have our Sun Dance. While my brother, Wolf Tail, and I were out cutting some willows in order to make a sweat lodge, my mother came down and told us that we had better get our horses and go back home.

I said, "Why should we go home? We are going to have a good time at the Sun Dance." My mother said that there had been a fight between the Bloods and the Mounties, and that there might even be a war starting.

Wolf Tail and I started back for the Sun Dance encampment, but when we got to the place where the bridge crosses the Belly River we met some people who told us that there was big trouble brewing and that all Americans were supposed to go home.

That was the last war party I went on, and that was the last scalp I [or anybody else] took. That is the end of the story.

● 657 The ruckus during the Sun Dance—the Indians referred to it as the "wrestling match"—which took place on the morning of July 4, 1889, was a very serious incident, and one which might well have precipitated full-scale battle between the Bloods and the Northwest Mounted Police. If such had been the outcome, the responsibility would have lain not with the Indians but with the N.W.M.P.

What happened was this: although both Calf Robe and Prairie Chicken Old Man had already been released from any charges stemming from their participation in the war party, Staff Sergeant Chris Hilliard, in charge of the Stand Off detachment of the N.W.M.P., led two constables and an interpreter, Henry Choquette, into the Medicine Lodge and attempted to arrest the two men. Not only had the Sergeant attempted to make the arrest without a legal warrant, but he had committed the incredible stupidity of violating the sanctity of the sacred Medicine Lodge, and in this act he came close not only to losing his life but to stirring up a rebellion among all the Canadian Blackfoots. As the Chief related in his story, Calf Robe had sworn to the Sun that in any future conflict with the enemy he would not stop fighting until the enemy had dropped their blankets, and when the Sergeant and his constables entered the sacred *Òkáhn* and laid hands on the two Indians, Calf Robe figuratively if not literally honored his oath. An angry group of Blood warriors deprived the police of their rifles and pistols, and ripped the uniforms from their backs. Only through the intervention of three prominent Blood chiefs—Red Crow, Blackfoot Old Woman, and Single Spot (himself a brother of Calf Robe)—did the police escape with their lives.

The incident stirred up a hornets' nest of controversy between the Indian Department and the N.W.M.P. A strong detachment of police was sent back to the encampment to arrest Calf Robe on a charge of using a deadly weapon to prevent an officer from making an arrest. Also arrested, on a charge of obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, were Young Pine, Sleeps-On-Top, Day Chief, Crop-eared Wolf, and Big Wolf (the man who, three years before, had discovered the bodies of the Bloods whose murder had started the whole business). The case of The Queen versus Crop-eared Wolf, Young Pine, Sleeps-On-Top, Day Chief [Tsis-tsi-koóm-i-nah: properly, Thunder Chief. Day Chief would be *Tsis-tsi-kúi-nah*] and Big Wolf was heard on August 6, 1889. With Police Superintendent Steele determined that the Bloods should be punished, and Agent Pocklington of the Blood Reserve equally determined in defense of the rights of his Indian charges, the trial was a tumultuous affair. Eventually the magistrate dismissed the charges against the Indians with the ruling that, since no warrants had been issued, the arrests had been illegal. The Crown Prosecutor was directed to withdraw all charges against Calf Robe, and there, at last, was an end to the matter.

Having already in hand the factual details of the Chief's last war party and scalp dance, it is interesting to view these events—and the events which they immediately precipitated—through official Canadian Government reports of the time. The following, dated November 30, 1889, is from the Annual Report of Superintendent S. B. Steele, Commanding Macleod District, Fort Macleod, to the Commissioner of the Northwest Mounted Police: [127]

> ### INDIANS
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> The Blood and Piegan Indians, whose reserves are located in this district, have given considerable trouble and annoyance during the past year, and unless some great change takes place it will not be lessened. The members of both tribes take every opportunity of procuring liquor of any description on every possible occasion—in fact, they even indulge in smuggling it across the line for their own use. This and horse stealing are the main causes of all our trouble with them; it seems impossible for them to resist indulging their apparent natural inclinations in this direction.
>
> On the 2nd July the "Sun Dance" commenced on the Blood Reserve. On the 4th a constable from the Stand Off detachment then on duty at the Sun Dance reported to me at Macleod, that Sergeant Hilliard and two constables had tried to arrest an Indian, "Calf Robe," for pointing a gun at constable Zinkham, when trying to arrest him for horse stealing some time previous, and as the Sun Dance was then in progress some 200 or 300 of the Bucks assisted in rescuing "Calf Robe" from the police. On the following morning I ordered Inspector Wood, in command of a small party, to proceed to Stand Off and investigate the matter; he returned the following day, bringing with him several of the Indians who participated in obstructing the police in doing their duty. They were placed in the guard room.
>
> On the 8th July, the five Indians that were placed in custody were brought before me and Inspector Wood, for their preliminary trial, Indian Agent Pocklington appearing for the defence,

657 they were committed for trial at the next sitting of the Supreme Court, which was held on the 5th August, Indian Agent Pocklington and their chief, "Red Crow," going their bail pending the sitting of the court. The Crown prosecutor thought before the trial came off that there had been a good case made out, that the Indians had no cause or right to assault the police, even had there been no warrants issued; but the judge, on hearing the evidence, threw out the case, as I believe he decided it was not a legal arrest as no warrant had been issued, and the prisoners were released. In making this arrest, the non-commissioned officer was not in possession of a warrant, but I consider he acted perfectly right, there being so many bad Indians wanted at times that unless a man takes every chance offered he will likely lose his man altogether, as they give very few opportunities for arresting.

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796 The impression has gone abroad that the Sun Dance is a religious festival; it may have been regarded as such at one time, but the experience of nearly all those whose dealings and occupations have brought them in close contact with the Indians, and who are well acquainted with their manners and customs, do not now consider it as such. It has degenerated into a gathering merely for the purpose of using up presents of tea, tobacco, &c., given them by their agents or begged from their white neighbors. It is a festival that should be discouraged; it has the effect of reviving too vividly old associations. Old warriors take this occasion of relating their experience of former days, counting their scalps and giving the numbers of horses they were successful in stealing. This has a pernicious effect on the young men; it makes them unsettled and anxious to emulate the deeds of their forefathers.

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657 It was reported to me on the 30th of April that a party of fifteen Blood Indians had left for the Crow Reserve in the United States for the purpose of stealing horses. Sergeant Hilliard, in charge of Stand Off detachment, got the names of the Indians absent from the reserve in case they were needed. On the 22nd I received a telegram from R. S. Tingley, of Big Sandy, Montana, to the effect that some of our Indians were stealing horses in that vicinity, and requesting me to take action in the matter. I sent word to the outposts to keep a sharp look out for their return and also notified the agent at the reserve to warn me of their return, should they escape the notice of our men.

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On the 4th of May I received another message from R. S. Tingley that they had stolen seventeen saddle horses from him. I immediately despatched Inspector Macpherson and all available non-commissioned officers and men to intercept, if possible this band of Indians, and also notified all outposts.

On the 7th of May I received a further despatch from R. B. Harrison, Helena, Montana, stating that the Bloods had run off forty horses belonging to the Crows. Scout Giveen was sent out at once to notify Inspector Macpherson in charge of the patrol then looking for these Indians, and to join his party. I also received a telegram from the Officer Commanding Fort Assiniboine, U.S., that nine Bloods had passed through the Bear Paw Mountains, having stolen stock belonging to the Crow Indians in their possession.

Several rumors came in from the reserve, brought in by Indians who claimed to have seen "Prairie Chicken Old Man's" party, and who reported that they were all killed by Gros Ventres in the Bear Paw Mountains.

On the 16th Inspector Macpherson's detachment captured the "Bee," who was one of the party, and sent him in here.

On the 18th he sent in "Hind Gun" together with "Young Pine" and the "Scout," who by the advice of the chiefs gave themselves up to the Indian Agent Pocklington, all of whom were placed in the guard room here.

"Young Pine" made a confession regarding the trip, and stated that the party comprised five Bloods and one South Piegan, and that on the Big Horn at the Crow Agency they drove off about 100 head of horses, the most of which were very poor and dropped along the trail. When returning on the second day they were surprised by a large party of Gros Ventres, who commenced shooting at them; they jumped on their horses and went further into the Bear Paw Mountains, the Gros Ventres continuing to fire on them, they firing in return, and saw some of the enemy drop; they continued to retreat, and noticing two Indians on the trail in front of them, they pursued them and killed one of them, an "Assiniboine." The "Scout" took his horse and "Prairie Chicken Old Man" his gun and scalp. At this moment a party of American Cavalry were seen coming to cut them off, so they continued their flight, leaving nearly all the stolen horses in the hands of the Gros Ventres, they however, arrived on the Blood Reserve with five of the stolen horses and one stray horse. These they handed over to their chiefs, who

657 721 handed them over to us. Owners for these horses have not yet been found. I sent a description and brands to the Montana Stock Association, but they have not yet been claimed; they are at present running with our herd here.

657 On the 13th of June the Indian Commissioner, Mr. Hayter Reed, was here, and held a conference with these Indians in regard to their late conduct, and told them there had been no charge laid against them, as the parties from whom the horses had been stolen had lodged no complaint. They were dismissed with a good caution and an intimation that they were liable to be sent for at any time to answer to the charge.

On the 21st of June "Calf Robe," another of this marauding party, came to the post and gave himself up, but I released him, first giving him a good lecture as to his future conduct.

Two Indians during the year were tried and convicted of frequenting tepees kept by women and peddling same for the purpose of prostitution. They were both given six months hard labor. Severe sentences in these cases were given solely as an example to try and stamp out this pestilence.

Several minor cases of Indians being drunk were tried before me and other Justices of the Peace and punished accordingly, but in nearly all cases it was a matter of impossibility to convict the whites who furnished them with the hop beer, it being proven that the Indians themselves had doctored the beer by using tea and tobacco.

The North Piegans are the best behaved Indians I have anything to do with, very seldom having a case against any of them for misbehavior.

All Indians visiting the town of Macleod are required to have passes from their agents, failing which they are ordered at once back to their reserve.

114 657 The inaccuracy of Steele's report—among other things, he credits the Chief's war party with having gone from the Bighorn River to the Bear Paw Mountains, a crow's flight of about two hundred miles, in less than two days—can for the most part be excused. But Steele's obvious contempt for the Indian, and his attitude toward the Sun Dance, are beyond excuse.

It is all too characteristic of mankind that he tends to regard any religious celebration except his own as barbaric, depraved or, at the [127] very least, uninformed. The following excerpt from the Annual Report of Superintendent R. Burton Deane, Commanding K Division,

the N.W.M.P., Lethbridge, December 1, 1889, shows just how off- 114
base a person can get with regard to a religious observance about 657
which he has carefully avoided becoming educated. Superintendent [127]
Deane here proves that if you keep your actual knowledge on a subject down to an absolute minimum, your conversational possibilities with regard to that subject are unlimited.

INDIANS

> . . . The Bloods think they are the cream of creation, and it is time for them to begin to imbibe some modification of the idea. 657
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> We have been unsuccessful in keeping them on the reserve. A firm and persistent pressure will in time have the desired effect.
>
> I went to the sun dance on the reserve this year, and I came 657
> away with the impression that it serves no useful purpose what- 796
> ever, and might be profitably replaced by some other form of entertainment. No more than half a dozen would-be braves underwent the ordeal, and some of them were only brought to the scratch by obtrusive and derisive encouragement. The Indians could not agree among themselves as to where it should be held, and Red Crow did not appear. It has the effect of bringing out all the bad qualities of the Indians, without any compensating advantage. It feeds the naturally cruel nature of the spectators, it panders to the lust of both sexes, and unsettles the marital relations of the Indians themselves; and last, though not least, it acts as an incentive to the triumphant participant to evince a courage to which he is far from feeling in the commission of some lawless act.

It was asinine reports such as this—Deane's comments could not [114]
be further from the truth—which induced the Canadian Government for many years to prohibit the Indians from holding their sacred Sun Dance observance. Just exactly what the nature of Superintend- 657
ent Deane's character and attitude toward the Indian really were
is made clear in another section of his report in which he expresses 721
gratification that the Bloods, whom he was being paid to protect, had been robbed by a war party of "Belknaps" (Gros Ventres and Assiniboines) from across the International Boundary. Deane states:

657 721 On the 31st July I received a telegram from Col. Otis that the agent at Fort Belknap had reported that four of his Indians had left their agency on the 27th to raid the Bloods. I wired to Superintendent Steele at Macleod, and sent an Indian to warn the Indians on the reserve. I believe the Belknaps succeeded in getting away with two horses, and if so, I think it was a very salutary lesson for the Bloods, calculated to lessen their conceit and teach them not to provoke reprisals.

657 Of quite a different cut from Superintendents Steele and Deane was the Agent of the Blood Reserve, William Pocklington. Pocklington, a British gentleman of the old school and a close friend of the Prince of Wales (later King Edward the Seventh), went west with the "originals" of the Northwest Mounted Police in 1874. 657 648 Having joined the Indian Department in 1881, Pocklington assumed the position of Agent of the Blood Reserve in 1884, just a year before the start of the Riel Rebellion. During the very dangerous period of the Rebellion, the Blood Agent camped right among his high-spirited Indians, and it was no small measure of his efforts which dissuaded the Canadian Blackfoots from joining the Metis-Cree in an insurrection which, if successful, would have rewritten the history of the Canadian Northwest.

657 Pocklington, respected by White and Indian alike, was a man of unimpeachable courage and probity, and although his account of the Chief's last war party (as related by Young Pine) suffers from translation into English by the interpreter—Indians have a very special way of telling a story, and unless you are an experienced linguist you can get all balled up in the translation—Pocklington's letters to the Indian Commissioner present both a comprehensive and reasonably accurate portrait of the events of the time and also make clear the steadfast and courageous efforts of the Agent in support of his Indian charges.

REPORT FOR APRIL

May 4, 1889.

A rumour is in the camp that some of the Bloods had recently been killed south of the Line, but whether there is any truth in the matter I have so far been unable to find out.

A party of six stole away in the night and have been away long enough to get into trouble.

I have been unable to trace the originators of the story, so possibly there is nothing in it. 657

Should anything definite turn up, will at once notify you. . . .

Pocklington

May 17, 1889.

Sir

I have the honor to inform you that on the 14th inst I sent 657
you the following telegram in cypher which I would now con- 721
firm "War party Bloods returned Monday with horses—scalp [727]
dance last night am investigating Indians gave me four horses
—Will report fully."

It would appear that some three weeks ago a party composed of the following Bloods viz "Young Pine" "The Scout" "Prairie Chicken old man", "Calf Robe" "Crazy Crow" & a South Piegan left here for the Crow Reserve to steal horses. Today "Young Pine" accompanied by "Red Crow" & others came to me at the Upper Agency & told me the whole story; he said "we arrived near the Crow Reserve without going near any white people or the Gros Ventres. we took lots of horses from the Crows and felt good. we did not have any trouble until we got to the Little Rockies & Bear Paw Mountain. we there had a bad storm and got lost. we stayed two days, the next day we made six miles and killed some antelope. it was not noon, we were eating when the Gros ventres charged on us. we ran off taking the horses. the Gros Ventres overtook us and started shooting at us and did their best to kill us. we thought they wanted to kill us as they killed six of us three winters ago. they ran us a long time & we got tired and angry. They fired a long time and we returned their fire.

"Calf Robe" who speaks Sioux and Gros Ventre shouted to them that we had been to the Crows and not near them. They fired at him while he was talking. We then tried our best to kill them. We fought as we ran and killed an Indian about 300 yds off and kept running away, the Gros Ventres after us. As we were running two Indians got off their horses ahead of us. We did not see them until they fired. We got hot (?), one of these two took after us. we charged on him and fired. he returned our fire. we ran him into some bushes got close to kim & killed him. He was an Assiniboine. We took his gun but did

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not touch his clothes. The Gros Ventres were so close to us here that we had to leave the loose horses which we had stolen. After this we ran away up the Bear Paw Mountain, made rifle pits and stopped there a long time. we saw the Gros Ventres below us, they gathered together and climbed the mountain after us. it was now after noon. We saw what we thought were white men, got scared and ran away again down the mountain and crossed the Railroad, saw the Indians after us. it was near sundown our horses were done up and we rested a little time, the Gros Ventres being close up. at dark four of the horses gave out. the Gros Ventres got them. the horses we gave you were the only ones that did not give out. we travelled all night and did not have any further trouble.

The Gros Ventres killed six Bloods, who had a Pass, nothing was done to them. I though you would be glad that we had killed them. The Gros Ventres started the trouble. They stole "Red Crow's" horses and gave you lots of trouble to get them back. You know it is our custom to take revenge. the Indians are all glad at our killing the Indians for the six killed by them. I am ashamed to explain this to the Police Chief.

We killed them across the Line. The Americans paid no attention to our Indians who were killed. We depend upon you to get us out of the trouble.

If we get clear of this the Bloods will be glad and the trouble ended.

The time the Bloods were killed "Red Crow" made no trouble nor talked bad. it is three winters ago, we only killed two they killed six Bloods.

I was poor for horses and went to steal from the Crows not from the whites. We leave it to you and "Red Crow" to settle. I have told the truth."

On being closely questioned, I could elicite nothing further. They brought in five horses, four they have delivered to me, three of which are poneys the other a fairly sized branded horse. the fifth "Calf Robe" had, the Indians promised to get it.

After giving "Young Pine" a good talking to I advised him to get the rest of the party and give themselves up to the Police, to this he agreed and further that if the others did not go he and "The Scout" would go provided "Red Crow" and I would take them, to this we assented. I expect them here tomorrow.

It has been reported to the Police that some Bloods had been to the Big Sandy between Ft.Assiniboine & the Coal Bank

Missouri river, also to Grand Falls above Benton. I questioned 657
the Indian closely on this subject, his reply was that they had 721
not been there, but straight to the Crow Reserve.

The Bloods brought two scalps which must have been taken [727]
off the man killed in the brush, as they could not tell who the first Indian killed was.

There was more or less excitement when they first arrived but it has all cooled down since. "Prairie Chicken old man" was the leader of the party, he is a bad lot.

The general opinion around the Reserve is that the Bloods have now got even with the Gros Ventres.

I have the honor to be
Sir
Your obdt Servt.

(Wm.Pocklington)

The Indian Commissioner
Regina
Assa.

Blood Agency
22nd May, 1889.

Sir

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst re enclosing a communication from Col.Otis to the Comr. of the N.W.M.Police concerning some of the Bloods being on the war path and in reply would inform you that I fully reported the return of a war party on the 17th Inst with five horses. I have no doubt it is the same party that Col.Otis refers to as it is the only one I know having been in that district. as the same time, I believe the Indians did not steal from the Gros Ventres nor from the whites but from the Crows only. "Young Pine" who was one of the party is one of those Indians that cares for nothing and would be more likely to tell the truth than lies about it. "Young Pine" & "The Scout" are now in the Guard house at Macleod having gone in with me last Saturday afternoon.

As regards "Red Chicken" I know no Indian of that name on this Reserve, at the same time there may be such an one, as most of the Bloods have two or three names.

With respects to any blame being attached to anyone on the matter I am ready to shoulder the whole of it.

It is practically impossible to keep posted on all the movements of the Indians no matter how vigilant we are. Mills and I are constantly moving round and so soon as Indians are missed inquiries are instituted & the ticket taken in and before being re-issued the family has to show up.

Now regarding officers knowing by sight every male soul on the Reserve, owing to the fact that rations are issued twice a week (four times, twice above & twice here) it is the exception for the male adults to be present at the issue, the squaws in nearly every case draw rations and are seldom seen accompanied by the males. besides when parties leave it is invariably by twos & threes in the night and the usual reply to questions, is they have gone to cut logs, or tent poles, or hunting, etc. or they are camped on the St.Mary, the grass being better there. I quite understand the uitility of reporting war parties being absent to your office, but I cannot see the utility of reporting unless I am quite certain a party had gone & their destination. I heard this particular party was gone that it was the intention to hunt down by the St.Mary's Lakes where there was plenty of whiskey to be bought, another report was that they had gone to the Crow Reserve, but I did not credit it as our Indians have not been that far for a long time, and were led into this expedition by a South Piegan. I may here say the S.Piegan is in the Guard house at Macleod the other three of the party are still at large and I think left the Reserve.

Another small party (3) returned about the same time as the "Young Pine" party. the Police took one horse and have arrested "The Bean" [or "The Bear"] the balance of this party was composed of "Makes Complaints" & "Crane Bird". I cannot find where they went.

The Indians this year are much more scattered than in former years, a number of them wintered on the St.Marys side of the Reserve from above Whoop-Up on the Belly so far as the Rieklinger [?] Crossing on the St.Marys.

I will of course as in the past assist the Police in everyway.

Pocklington.

3rd June, 1889. 657

. . . Since the war party returned from the Crow country, the Indians have kept a very sharp look out for hostile Indians approaching. Scarcely a day passes that reports come in stating so many Indians afoot were seen in certain neighborhoods. One report was brought me to the effect that shots had been exchanged between Blood herders and strange Indians afoot but upon inquiry nothing could be confirmed 721

The fact is the Bloods are scared to death lest any war party of any size should come.

"Young Pine", "The Scout" & the S.Piegan are still in the guard-house awaiting prosecution from the U.S. side of the line. Major Steele informs me that he has wired several times but so far no one has come. I expect he will liberate the Bloods in the course of a few days. [727]

Pocklington.

REPORT FOR JUNE

2nd July, 1889 657

The Indians having been occupied principally in getting ready for the Sun dance which bids fair to be of less importance than last year as there is a split among them, the Lower Indians will not join the Upper & the Upper say they will not join the Lower. it has looked for sometime past as if they would hold a sun dance in both camps, still I think in the end they will join and make one Medicine Lodge. 796 578

As directed by you I saw Supt.Steele about "Calf Robe" "Prairie chicken old man" & "Crazy Crow". he informed me there was no charge against them. I then saw "Red Crow" & told him to take the Indians in & that if they gave themselves up there would be nothing done to them. "Calf Robe" went in & was let go, the others at the time of writing have not done so, I will see them in a day or two & prevail upon them to do so. 657 727

Pocklington.

Bloods
9th July, 1889.

I have the honor to inform you that on the 4th inst the M.Police attempted to make an arrest of two Indians at the Sun Dance which might have resulted in serious trouble. 657

657 It appears that Sergt.Hilliard two constables & Interpreter Choquette while on their regular Patrol visited the Medicine Lodge & while there saw "Prairie Chicken Old man" & "Calf Robe" two of the Indians who were implicated with "Young Pine" & others in bringing horses over from the Crow Agency.

I may remind you that when you were here Supt.McDonnell informed us that he knew of no charge against these Indians. You requested me to see Supt.Steele on the matter which I did. he said he knew of no charge against them, and in my asking is there any charge against "Calf Robe" for drawing a rifle on the Police; he said No. After telling "Red Crow" this "Calf Robe" came in with the Chief gave himself up and was liberated. This was a few days after your visit. notwithstanding this, on the 4th July Sergt.Hilliard attempted to arrest him on this charge. of course the Indians were excited as the affair happened on the big day of the Sun-dance. "Red Crow" & other reliable men informed me that the Police drew their revolvers & flourished them around, that he and others endeaboured to prevent trouble, that the Police struck & kicked several Indians and I regret to state, said the Police must have been drinking as the Indians could smell liquor on them. The Police entirely deny that they were under the influence of liquor or even excited. The result of all this was that Insp.Wood with a party of Police came out to the Reserve on the 6th arrested "Calf Robe" "Big Wolf" "Crop eared Wolf" "Sleeps on top" "Young Pine" "Day Chief" for obstructing the Police in the execution of their duty.

Yesterday the 8th inst they were brought before. . . . Steele & Wood J.P.s. I advised the Indians to be tried before Judge Macleod they elected to be so, during the preliminary hearing Sergt Hilliard under cross examination stated that he had no warrent for the arrest of "Calf Robe" & "Prairie chicken Old man" but was authorized by Supt.Steele to arrest them but not to take any *extra trouble* about it, that the Indians jostled he & his men so much that they lost their prisoners. of course the other Police present corroborated the Sergt's evidence.

I contended that as there was no charge against these men, the Police had no right to attempt their arrest and that it was a mad act to attempt it at the Medicine Lodge when the Indians are more or less excited. The Indians were committed for trial.

A separate charge was put in against "Calf Robe" for drawing his gun on a Policeman when endeavouring to arrest him. "Calf Robe" had already given himself up and liberated there being no charge against him. Yet the Police arrest this man for an offence committed on the 17th day of May last but strange to say the information is not laid until the 6th July, two days after the fuss at the Medicine Lodge the 4th inst. of course "Calf Robe" was also committed for trial. I have obtained Mr. Houltain to defend the prisoners.

The day after the trouble the 5th inst I visited the camp and talked with "Red Crow" & others. they were much excited. the best of their talk was that they could not understand how it was that after "Calf Robe" had given himself up, the Police should wish to arrest him. I talked to them a long time quieted them down & made them promise to do nothing without consulting me.

I started for town, saw Supt.Steele & in conversation with him on the matter concluded the whole thing was a mistake, particularly so as Steele told me that Sergt.Hilliard had no authority to make the arrest. Judge then my surprise when the Sergt. in his evidence before Supt.Steele stated he had Supt.Steele's authority to make the arrest. I consider the Police acted in a high handed manner & in such a say that if it is continued serious trouble is likely to result.

I may further state that Sergt.Hilliard in his evidence stated that his instructions from Supt.Steele to make the arrest were given three weeks ago & that he did not know "Calf Robe" had given himself up, and that it was the first time he had seen the Indians since receiving his orders.

I think some other form of arresting Indians should be taken but what that form should be I do not quite see. any change though would possibly be an improvement.

I succeeded in obtaining the Indians liberty until the Sitting of the Court. "Red Crow" being security for four of them & "Running Wolf" for "Big Wolf."

My reasons for retaining Mr.Haultain were because the case is an exceedingly complicated one and that I would have no chance against the Crown Prosecution.

Pocklington.

10th July 1889.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th ult

657 re Indians scouts for the N.W.M.Police and would inform you that I had settled on "Young Pine" going himself & selecting three or four others, but since the fuss of the 4th inst with the Police, they do not seem much disposed to join.

Possibly after the affair is settled I may secure some.

Pocklington.

Bloods
8th August 1889.

I have the honor to inform you that on the 5th & 6th inst I attended the Sittings of the Supreme Court in the interests of the Indian prisoners in the following cases.

Regina vs "Crop eared Wolf" "Day Chief" "Young Pine" "Big Wolf" "Sleeps on top". This was a case in which the prisoners were charged with obstructing the Mounted Police in the execution of their duty. I am pleased to report that they were all acquitted, the Judge holding that the arrest was illegal.

Regina va "Calf Robe" the prisoner in this case was charged with standing a Policeman off with a rifle when attempting to arrest him for bringing in stolen property from Montana on or about the 17th May last. he was also acquitted the Judge holding that the attempted arrest was illegal. Mr.Haultain whom I had retained appeared for these prisoners . . .

Pocklington.

721 The Chief's last war party, the party composed of Young Pine, Wolf Sitting, Calf Robe, Crazy Crow, Prairie Chicken Old Man, and "Hind Gun" of the South Piegans, was not the last war party ever undertaken by members of the Northern Plains Tribes but it was the last one that really amounted to anything.

On the evening of August 8, 1889, the Gros Ventres and Assiniboines made a horse raid against the Bloods, but they were intercepted on the way home and the horses recovered. Morning Howler, brother of Young Pine, was the following year apprehended with three other Bloods attempting to steal horses from a White rancher in Montana. The four Bloods were sentenced to seven years in the Deer Lodge Penitentiary, and only Morning Howler survived the incarceration (Indians generally did not survive extended periods of imprisonment). During the 1890's a few other unfruitful raiding parties left the Blood Reserve, and in 1891 that incompara-

461 464 [177] One unpopular but necessary adjunct to haying income is farm labor. Some of the residents of Glenwood, Stand-off, and Moses Lake augment their Reserve income by working for white ranchers and growers within a one hundred mile radius of the Reserve. As this labor is generally casual crop labor such as picking, thinning, and harvesting, it is irregular. Many Blood look down upon it, and it appears to be acceptable to only the lowest socio-economic echelon on the Reserve.

464 From these sources the average Blood Indian ekes out his living. Other forms of income are cattle ranching, rodeo work, carpentry and other construction work, seasonal work in nearby urban centers and the individual agricultural
657 leases. A considerable portion of individual income comes from tribal welfare resources and Canadian social welfare
434 benefits. Depending upon the combination of these various forms of income, the residents of the Reserve may be divided into socio-economic strata. On the top are the men who derive their income from their own agricultural endeavors or from their stock-raising enterprises. These Blood live as well as or better than the average white farmers around the Reserve. They have rather new cars and pick-up trucks, modern conveniences in the home, well painted and maintained homes, and they dress well and keep their children well groomed. Beneath this stratum is the middle class of the Reserve. These are the men with relatively steady income

177 Blackfoot became engulfed by white-man culture. This was the
175 period of the most individualistic and most vicious combat between the two groups. The tensions built up through the decade of the 1860's culminated in the Baker massacre of Heavy-Runner's band of Peigan in January of 1870.[25] This effectively ended hostilities between the two groups in United States territory. However, the departure of the Hudson's Bay Company and the influx of "free traders" into the country north of the International Border brought about a considerably different situation for the Blood Band. Near the north end of what is now the Blood Reserve, traders from the United States established two forts whose main purpose was to vend whiskey to the Indians. Around these forts considerable violence occurred, for example the murder of Calf Shirt, and the Cree-Assiniboin massacre.[26] To halt this frontier violence the Royal Northwest Mounted Police were established in 1873 and began their historic march west the
648 following year.[27] Four years later the Blood, Peigan,
175 Siksika (Blackfoot), and other chiefs signed Treaty Number Seven, which ended the whiskey trade and governs many white-Indian relations to this day.[28]

657 Reserve period.--From 1877 to the present day the Blood have been subject to the administration of their external affairs by the Canadian Government through the bureau known variously as the "Indian Department" or "Indian Affairs

657 Branch." The general purpose of this administration has been
to make the Blood Indian self-sufficient in the modern world.
433 To this end the initial effort was to make small farmers or
654 cattle herders out of the buffalo-hunting Blood.[29] These
efforts at small-scale agriculture and husbandry were largely
unsuccessful with only 304 acres under cultivation by 1894.[30]
871 The Government also authorized construction of Indian schools
during this period, one of which, the Dunbow School, was
built south of Calgary. The first principal of this school
was the famous "black-robed voyager," Father Lacombe.[31]
This program met with as little Indian acceptance as did the
farm program. As Katherine Hughes reports:

> The main difficulty was that these boys were too old to be broken to school ways, but they were the only boys available. All winter they continued to be as wild as young elk. Sometimes they would turn the playground into a battlefield; more often they would slip away to a big hill a mile distant and play there well away from the shadow of the school. Occasionally the teacher on ringing the bell for his charges would not find one in sight. In an instant, or so it seemed, they had hidden themselves about the yard, ready to lope off to the prairie if the teacher would not come out to round them up. During the winter some of the boys ran home. When the spring came they all clamoured to be free.[32]

433 In 1894 the Indian Affairs Branch made another at-
654 tempt to introduce cattle herding to the Blood, this time by
accepting horses in exchange for cattle.[33] Cattle continued
to be the major industry until 1910. At this time the
Government again started a program of farming with some success

433 until the bad winter of 1919-1920 which annihilated the
[654] cattle herds and set the farmers back considerably.[34] These
natural catastrophies together with the world-wide depres-
sion of the 1920's had the effect of closing out the smaller
entrepreneurs and concentrating the bulk of Reserve land in
361 the hands of a few large farmers. Also, in this era some
of the bands, which had been the residential, economic, and
political units of the aboriginal Blood, were dismembered by
the relocation of those bands residing on the "North End" of
the Reserve into the communities of those residing on the
177 "West End."[35] The land freed from occupation in this fashion
[434] was then leased to whites for cultivation. The result of
these alterations was to diversify the socio-political organi-
zation of the Reserve, and to add a new source of income for
the populace.

Many of these trends continue today. Leasing is
[433] common. Indeed, less than ten per cent of the adult household
434 heads farm.[36] The major sources of income are from tribal
or individual lease monies and from the gathering of prairie
871 hay. Early trends in education have continued, but within
the last ten years the Indian Affairs Branch has made an ef-
fort to integrate the Indian student with the white student
156 in the non-Reserve schools. Also, status competition has re-
657 mained strong. In the recent past (1939) Esther Goldfrank
notes:

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> In essence, the aim of the Canadian Government was to make these Indians self-supporting within the limits of their reservation. Its actual programs were largely paternalistic, yet neither the assurance of rations, nor release from the worries of marketing, nor the earlier possibility of acquiring good land for the asking, has succeeded in resolving the social conflicts in the Blood community. Competitive and rivalrous trends which functioned destructively in the buffalo past, find ample expression in the more recent present.[37]

181 Within the socio-geographic complex of the Reserve and in the terms provided by this context and the residue of the past, the young Blood today pursues his goals. The values of his community and the values held by the whites in surrounding communities direct him toward personal achievement. This achievement must be pursued with due regard to the present Reserve community and to the past. It would be well to keep the Blood Indians' past in mind while the present is explored.

Notes

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[1] Spindler, George D. and Louise Spindler, "The Instrumental Activities Inventory: A Technique for the Study of the Psychology Acculturation," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 21:1:1-23 (1965), gives an account of the results of I.A.I. interviewing in a cross section of the total Blood Indian population.

[2] Hallowell, A. I., Culture and Experience, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, Pa., 1955, pp. 345-357 ff., or Thompson, Laura, "Attitudes and Acculturation," American Anthropologist, 50:200-215 (1948).

whiskey to the Indians, whereby they become bad, dissolute, lazy, and, therefore, dangerous. They omit, because of this, to sell good furs and merchandise to the Whites. The women, who know quite well that they profit nothing from their labour since the men barter it for whiskey immediately and bring nothing home, tan the skins only half-way and badly. In 1816, the government issued a regulation that prohibited the sale of spirits to the Indians and allowed the importation of only a sufficient quantity to provide a half-pint per day to each man engaged in the service of the fur companies. Recently an amendment has been made that no whiskey at all may be imported. The Indian agents, who should be living permanently among the Indians, are entrusted, along with military personnel, the task of monitoring the importation of spirits. But not only do they not live amongst the Indians—they come out only once each year—they tolerate everything to happen without reprimand. (Some of them are related to leading men of the fur companies as well.) Nonetheless, they receive high salaries from the government, which bestows every year considerable gifts upon the Indians through them. Should these gentlemen carry out their obligations, the harmful consumption of whiskey among the Indians might be effectively controlled. In the surroundings of Fort Mc Kenzie it might be difficult to carry out this regulation of the government of the United States, as all the Indians who live in these northern regions may get as much whiskey as they want from the English. Consequently, should they not get whiskey from the American Fur Company, all trade would withdraw completely from here and be turned to the English. At the Mandans and Minnetarees there is no whiskey, and Mr. Mc Kenzie has no stock there of it at all.

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[P.107-B]

57: United States W-4 (no date) 1974 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Montana

BLACKFEET RESERVATION

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Glacier and Pondera Counties, MONTANA
Blackfeet Tribe
Tribal Headquarters: Browning, Montana 59417

[131]

Federal
Reservation
Population: 6,216 (BIA 3/72)

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LAND STATUS **Total Area: 950,643.24 acres** 105

Tribally Owned:	119,805.72 acres	423
Allotted:	775,412.52 acres	
Government Owned:	11,223 acres	
Non-Indian:	44,192 acres	

HISTORY

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The present-day Blackfeet are descendants of a confederacy of Piegan, Blood, and Siksika, all of Algonquian linguistic stock. Until confined to a reservation in the late 19th century, Blackfeet held most of the territory from the North Saskatchewan River in Canada to the southern headstreams of the Missouri River in Montana. The first treaty signed between the United States and Blackfeet set aside a vast area for the tribe, but 4 years later part of the land was designated by the Government as common hunting grounds. These were to be shared by the Blackfeet, Flathead, Gros Ventre, and Assiniboine. In 1888, the Blackfeet were gathered onto their present reservation.

CULTURE

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The seminomadic culture of the Blackfeet was that of the Plains tribes generally. The Sun Dance was important, as were the All Comrades, a series of 12 or more war societies in which membership was based on age. The Blackfeet were famous horsemen, hunters, and warriors who were greatly feared by their enemies.

GOVERNMENT

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The Blackfeet Tribe is organized under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, with a constitution and bylaws. The governing body is the popularly elected Blackfeet Tribal Business Council consisting of nine members elected for 2-year terms.